DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 190 678 UD 020 064

AUTHOR	Fong, Pauline L.: Cabezas, Amado Y.
TITLE	Economic and Employment Status of Asian-Pacific Women.
INSTITUTION	Asian-American Service Inst. for Assistance to Neighborhoods, San Francisco, Calif.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Educational Equity Group. Women's Research Div.
PUB DATE	Aug 76
NOTE	100p.: Not available in paper due to institution's restriction. Figures may be marginally legible. Working paper prepared for the Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Asian-Pacific Women.
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Asian Americans: *Economic Status: Employed Women: *Employment Level: Employment Opportunities: *Employment Patterns: Equal Opportunities (Jobs): *Females: Income: *Individual Characteristics: Occupational Mobility: Racial Discrimination: Sex Discrimination

ABSTRACT

This report deals with the employment and economic status of Asian and Pacific women in the United States. Data collected for a set of socioeconomic variables were analyzed and interpreted. Variables were analyzed by specific Asian ethnicity and by age. Data aggregated at the standard metropolitan statistical area level were used whenever possible. The topics considered were: (1) the economic status of Asian American women as reflected by labor force participation patterns: (2) the economic, employment, and marital status of Asian American women: (3) factors which depress the earning power of Asian American women: (4) occupational stratification theory: (5) occupational distribution and age cohorts: (6) occupational mobility: and (7) employment distribution by industry. The data analyses were used to identify areas for future research. Tables of data are included in the report. (MK)

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ED190678

ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF ASIAN-PACIFIC WOMEN

A Working Paper Prepared for
The Conference on the Educational and
Occupational Needs of Asian-Pacific Women

Pauline L. Fong and Amado Y. Cabezas

August 1976

Sponsored By:
Women's Research Program
National Institute of Education
Department of Health, Education & Welfare

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF ASIAN WOMEN

Pauline L. Fong* and Amado Y. Cabezas**

I. INTRODUCTION

Asian women have for many years quietly carried the double burden of race and sex discrimination in this country. Asian women have also silently carried the dual responsibilities of working and maintaining a home in order for their families to survive. The conflicts, tensions, and sufferings that such burdens have had on the Asian women have yet to be documented and told. This conference perhaps will mark a real beginning in the process of documenting the history of Asian women in this country. This paper addresses some of the facts surrounding the economic and employment status of Asian women. Our personal experiences tell us about the difficulties of trying to survive at the bottom of the economic ladder. It is important, however, that we have research and statistical data to validate these experiences and to comprehensively uncover the characteristics, the full range and the severity of these difficulties.

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The authors thank Harold T. Yee and Cathy Chow for providing their insights on our common experiences as Asians. Pauline Fong also thanks the members of ASIAN Women United for providing the difficult role of leadership in expressing the concerns of Asian women.

This paper deals with the employment and economic status of Asian-Pacific women in the United States and provides recommendations for areas of research. A bibliography, provided separately, presents a review of the available literature dealing with this subject. As pointed out with some of the studies, one of the major difficulties of research conducted by persons not familiar with the problems of the Asian community or of women is that the problems which need to be addressed are not well formulated or that data are not properly collected or interpreted. Not surprisingly, there has been very little work on the employment and economic status of Asian women. Also, the basic data sources required do not exist or are not readily available.

Asian-Pacific women here are defined as consisting of two groups. "Asian women" are American women who are of Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Thai and other southeast-Asian descent. Other southeast Asians include Indonesians, Malayans and Burmese. "Pacific women" are American women of Hawaiian, Samoan and Guamanian descent. The two groups together then comprise "Asian-Pacific" women. We emphasize, however, that the analyses conducted in the paper are centered on Chinese, Filipino and Japanese women for whom some data are available. They are NOT meant to characterize other Asian-Pacific women as well. Much more data and research are needed for these other groups. Indeed, past studies indicate large differences between these Asian cultures; see, for example, G. Myrdal, Asian Drama, Vols. I, II, III (New York: Pantheon, 1968).

Present occupational stratification theory as formulated by Blau, Duncan, Featherman, Sewell and others was reviewed for the purposes of the paper. The theory, developed primarily for white men, does not work too well for white women much less Asian-Pacific women. For this paper, no attempt was made to develop models to explain the economic and employment status of Asian-Pacific women. Instead, the approach used was to analyze a set of socio-economic variables believed to

be valid variables based on a review of the state-of-the-art, personal experience and intuition. These variables (dependent and independent) include:

- -labor force participation rate by age cohort, school enrollment status (for the young adults), marital status and presence of children
- -occupational status by age cohort and by industry.
- -class-of-worker (private, government or self-employed)
- -family income by no. of earners per family and poverty level status.
- -personal income by age cohort (as a proxy for labor market experience) and by educational attainment
- -head of household status
- -labor market area
- -educational attainment,
- -and of course, race/ethnicity, sex and age.

Cross sectional data for the above variables were analyzed and interpretations presented. Whenever possible, as dictated by data availability, the analysis was carried out by specific Asian ethnicity and by age cohort; also, data aggregated at the SMSA level were used whenever available, and at the state level when not. In a few instances, only nationwide data were available.

Based on the preliminary analysis presented, the paper concludes with recommendations for future work.

II. Economic Status of Asian Women as Reflected by Labor Force Participation Patterns

One of the prime indicators of economic status, for nations and for individual groups, is the labor force participation rate. As societies have developed their economies and increased their productive capabilities, smaller work forces have been able to support larger populations of non-working people. As economic conditions improved, for example, virtually every nation has witnessed the decline of child labor. In our country, we have also seen that large numbers of young adults can remain out of the labor force to get an extended education. We are also seeing more older people able to retire at earlier ages. As Table 1 shows, we also see that among white women, fewer than half need to be in paid employment.

When we come to Asian women, however, we see a different picture. Table 1 shows labor force participation rates for women of various ethnic groups for the state of California and for the major metropolitan areas around San Francisco and Los Angeles. The labor force participation rates for Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Hawaiian women are all considerably higher than that for white women. In almost all cases, half or more of the Asian women over 16 years of age are in the work force.

Table 1 . Labor Force Participation of Asian Women and White Women in California: 1970

Ethnicity	Female Labor Force Participation: California	San Francisco-Oakland SMSA	Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA
White			
No., 16 yrs.+	6,532,973	1,004,700	2,313,000
% in Labor Force	41.5%	43.9%	43.6%
Chinese			
No., 16 yrs.+	58,782	31,352	13,941
% in Labor Force	51.0%	54.0%	51.4%
Filipino			
No., 16 yrs.+	39,633	14,212	10,540
% in Labor Force	55.4%	58.7%	63.1%
Japanese			
No., 16 yrs.+	85,811	14,687	40,666
% in Labor Force	49.6%	52.1%	53.3%
Korean			
No., 16 yrs,+	6,542	No	3,406
% in Labor Force	47.0%	Data	50.3%
Hawaiian			
No., 16 yrs.+	4,544	No	No
% in Labor Force	51.4%	Data	Data

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G. Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the U.S.

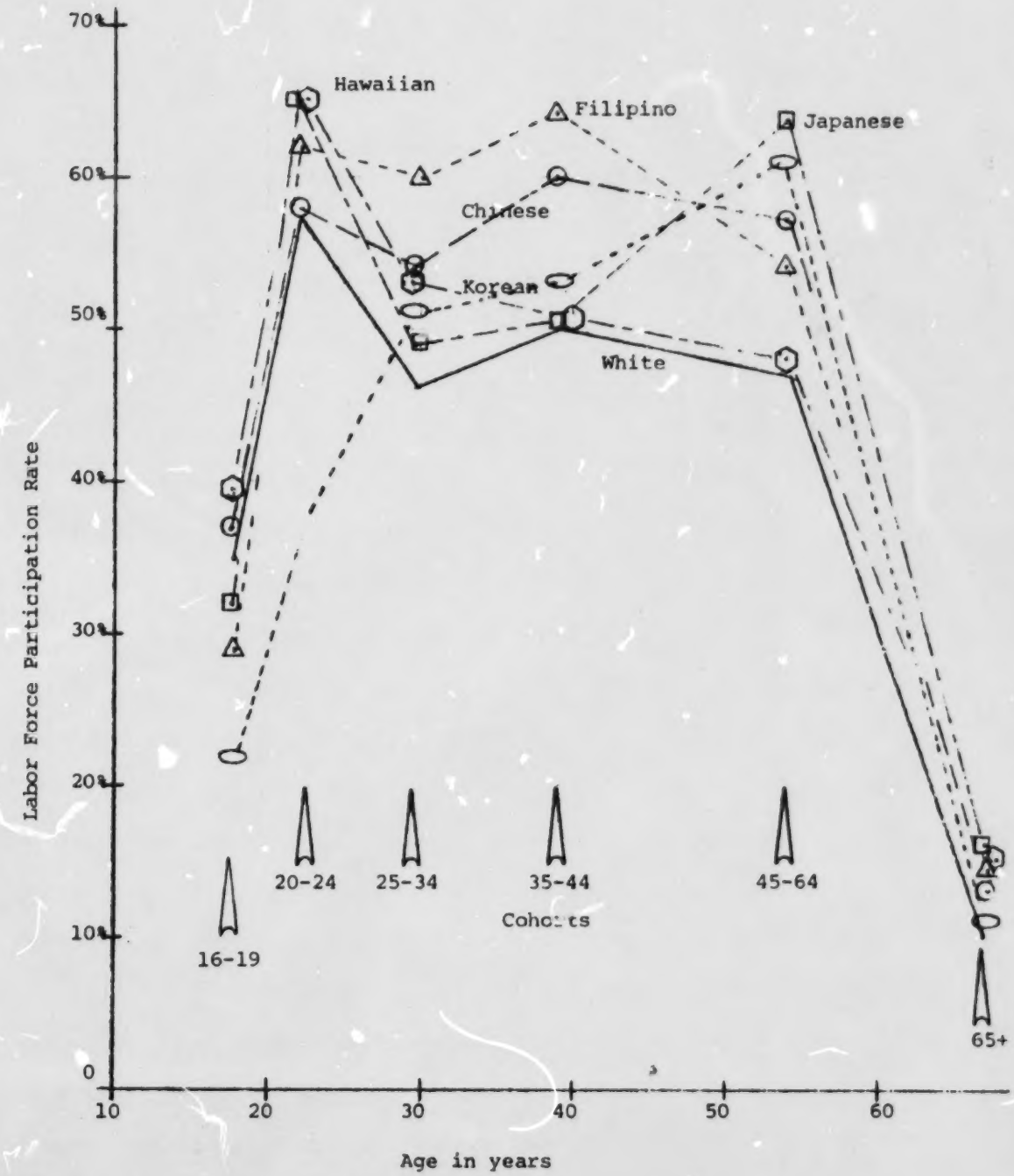
Note: California had the largest population in 1970 of Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans and Hawaiians, combined, totaling 549,307; Hawaii follows with an Asian population of 446,747; New York was third with 120,667 Asians of the ethnic groups specified above; Illinois and Washington follow with 44,077 and 41,052, respectively. These five states accounted for about 80% of the total Asian population in the U.S.

Figure 1 shows the labor force participation rates of Asian women and white women by age cohorts, for the 1970 Census year. Except for the youngest age group of 16-19 years, Asian women of all age groups are in the labor force to a greater extent than white women of similar ages.

White women are most likely to be in the labor force during their young adult years (age 20-24), when 57% of them are working. During their adult years from age 25 to 64, their labor force participation rates ranged between 46% and 50%, and drop to 10% among the elderly (65 and over). By contrast Asian women reach participation rates up to 64 and 65 percent for Japanese, Hawaiian and Filipino women in various age groups, and to 60% for Chinese women. The labor force participation rates peak at different age groups for the different ethnic categories: in the early years (20 t0 24) for Hawaiian and Japanese Women and again in the 45 to 64 bracket for Japanese; in the middle years 35 to 44 for Filipino and Chinese women, and in the 45 to 64 bracket for Korean women. It must be pointed out that the age patterns are for different age cohorts in the same point in time and not a tracing of one group through the years. How the patterns for the various ethnic groups would vary if we could trace the women as they grew older is unknown. The factors that would give us some insight into the differences in work force experience of the various groups needs to be explored. Differences in immigration rates and characteristics of the immigrants, differences in

Figure 1. Labor force participation rate by age cohorts of Asian women and white women in California in 1970.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; _____, Final Report PC(1)-DG.



marital patterns and child bearing rates are some factors that may account for the differences. Table 2 presents some meager information on the school enrollment rates for Asian women between 18-24 years of age. There are significant differences in the percentage of Chinese and Japanese women in school during these years compared to the Filipino, Hawaiian and Korean women. Although low school enrollments might account for high labor force activity among the Hawaiian and Filipino women, it would appear that Chinese and Japanese women also work while going to school. The schooling and work patterns in these early adult years for Asian women is an important area that needs investigation, especially with respect to the impact that these kinds of experiences have on later career ladders and economic opportunities. This may prove to be a critical period for many women as the discussion on occupational stratification theory later in this paper provides some fertile ground for thought.

Figure 2 displays the pattern of labor force participation for the 1960 census year and provides some trend information. Clearly, in the decade between 1960 and 1970, women of every ethnic and age category show a definite increase in work force activity. Again, however, we have little data to verify possible explanations for these changes. Does the increased labor force activity reflect the impact of the significant immigration of the late 1960s? Does it reflect a worsening of economic conditions; does it reflect response to greater opportunities? Does it reflect

Table 2. Asian Women, 18-24 Years Old, and Enrolled in School, 1970

Area	Percent Asian Women, 18-24 yrs, and Enrolled in School:				
	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Korean	Hawaiian
U.S. Total	58.2%	48.4%	23.2%	25.5%	23.1%
California	61.7	53.4	26.6	36.8	23.4
Hawaii	43.9	45.9	23.5	37.1[a/]	20.5
Illinois	61.0	37.5	16.7	*	*
New York	56.7	33.1	17.9	29.6[b/]	*
Washington	51.1	55.2	28.9	*	*

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G.

* Data not available

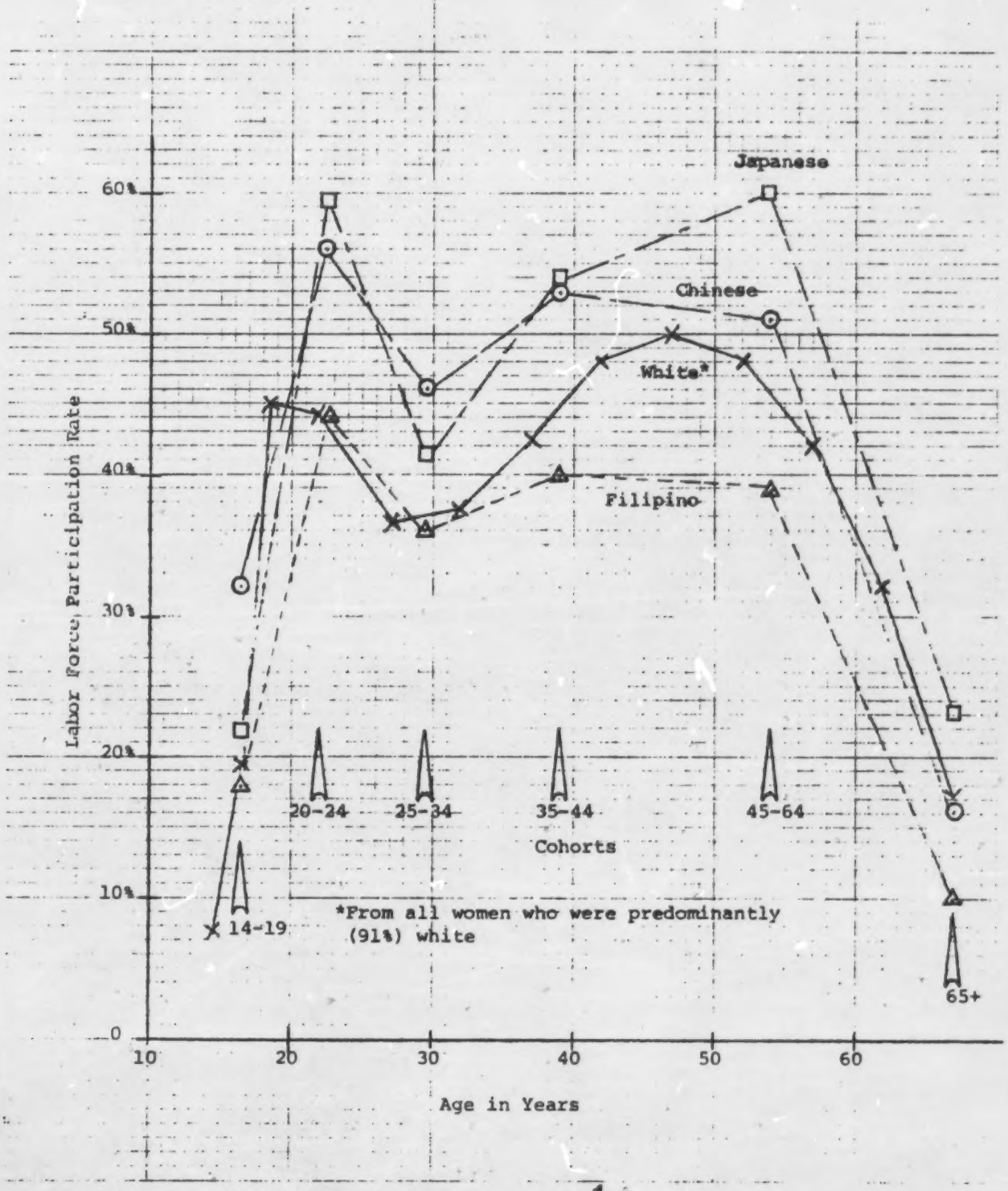
a/ For Honolulu SMSA

b/ For New York SMSA

Note: In California, white women between the ages of 18-24 had a 29% enrollment in school.

Figure 2. Labor force participation rate by age cohorts of Asian women and white women in California in 1960.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Final Report PC(2)-1C, 1963.



changing social patterns with respect to attitudes towards marriage, family formation and dissolution? Attempts to understand what is happening are frustrated by gravely inadequate information.

Why are Asian women working in the labor force at these high levels of participation? What is the significance of the definite upward trend? How are Asian women coping with their employment status? Are Asian women being prepared for dealing with these changes? The questions easily outrun our answers. We do have some important clues, however.

One reason does appear clear why Asian women work in such large numbers. This is a matter of economic necessity and survival. If we look at the income and poverty statistics on Table 3 , it is very clear that the average income of Asian families is considerably lower than for white families and that the proportion of Asian families and individuals living in poverty is considerably greater than for whites. This is especially true for Chinese and Filipinos. The Japanese population comes closest to matching white levels of affluence. Data are not available for the other Asian ethnic groupings.

Table 4 shows that three out of five families among the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos have two or more wage earners, and very few families have no wage earners at all. When the fact of multiple wage earners is coupled with the low family incomes shown earlier, it becomes very difficult to avoid concluding that Asian women work to maintain family incomes. Without the earnings contributions of the women,

TABLE 3

Income of Asian Americans Compared With Whites* in the SF-O SMSA in 1970

	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	White
Mean Income				
Families	$11,749	$11,081	$13,281	$14,391
Unrelated Individuals (14 yrs. +)	$ 3,508	$ 3,490	$ 4,715	$ 5,521
Percent Below Poverty:				
Families	10.6	9.1	5.4	5.0
Unrelated Individuals	37.8	32.4	28.7	21.4
All Persons	13.2	10.8	7.9	7.4

*White-Estimated as total less Blacks, Spanish Origin, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and American Indians

Sources: PHC(1)-189, "San Francisco-Oakland, California SMSA"
PC(2)-1B, "Negro Population"
PC(2)-1G, "Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States"
PC(2)-1D, "Persons of Spanish Surname"
PC(2)-1F, "American Indians"

TABLE 4

Asian Families by Number of Earners Per Family, California and the U.S.: 1970

	White	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
California:				
Mean Size of Family	3.83	4.03	4.16	3.65
No. of Families:	4,532,512	37,437	29,347	49,251
- With No Earners	9%	4%	6%	4%
- With 1 Earner	41%	35%	32%	38%
- With 2+ Earners	50%	61%	62%	58%
United States:				
Mean Size of Family	3.60	4.01	4.23	3.67
No. of Families:	46,024,000	94,931	71,326	133,927
- With No Earners	8%	5%	6%	6%
- With 1 Earner	38%	36%	33%	34%
- With 2+ Earners	54%	59%	61%	60%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; and Final Report PC(1)-D6, Detailed Characteristics, California, pp. 6-2434, 6-2521; _____, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 37 (1971), p. 44, 45.

many more Asian families would be living in poverty. Discrimination against Asian males which keeps their earning power depressed makes it essential for women to work. The even more depressed earning power of minority women closes an economic vise that only extraordinary efforts suffice to keep Asian families out of poverty.

The contrast between these families and white families is interesting. Nine percent of white families had no wage earners at all. Forty one percent had only one wage earner. And half had two or more earners, about 10% points below those of Asians.

Table 5 shows another employment characteristic of some Asian groups that accounts for low economic status. This table shows the distribution of the work force by the place employed. Many more Chinese and Japanese are self employed than are whites or Filipinos. A corollary of self employment is a higher than average proprtion of unpaid family workers. A study done by Cathy Chow of ASIAN, INC. on Asian owned businesses, based on a special census survey, documented the marginal economic status of most of the self employed. One of the ways the marginal businesses survive is through use of unpaid family workers. It is not clear whether the labor force statistics pick up the younger children who do such work. This table, however, presents data which is consistent with the pattern observed earlier of high enrollment in school and work force for the Chinese and Japanese women in the 18-24 age bracket. What

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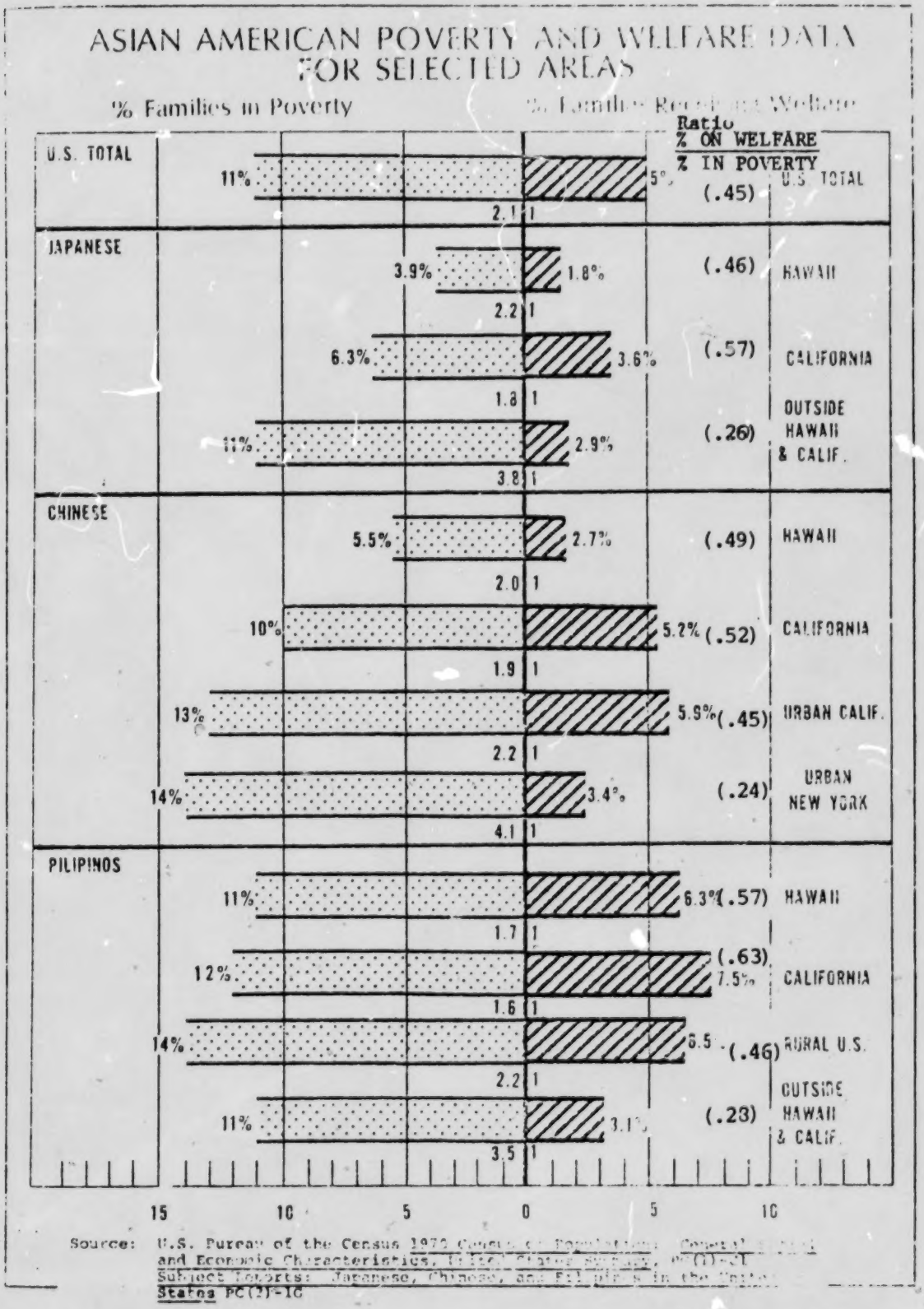
we also do not have data on is the number of women who may work at more than one job, especially those who may contribute to a family owned business and work in a paid position elsewhere.

Economic Status and Public Assistance

We have seen thus far that Asian families in poverty are a higher proportion than among the white population, that Asian families stay out of poverty by combining the meagre incomes from several wage earners, and that women contribute in large proportion to this type of work force, and that proportionately fewer Asian families have no wage earners at all.

But how do low income Asian families survive, especially when family size is also larger than that of whites? Figure 3 and Table 6 present some data on Asian families receiving public assistance. Figure 3 compares the percentage of poor families with the percentage of families receiving welfare. The ratios between these two categories are shown in parentheses. This figure would suggest that the proportions of Asian families getting welfare compared to the proportion of poor families is not out of line with the experience of the general U.S. population as a whole. In contradiction, though, Table 6 shows that when one controls for families in poverty, the Asian proportion receiving public assistance is substantially below that of all races. As we can see, not a lot of data is available. But the pattern is clear where we have data. Clearly, we also know very little about the families with female heads. We must despair over the large proportions (80 and 90%) of families, whether headed by men or women who receive no assistance. How are they surviving?

Figure 3



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1970 Census of Population: Characteristics and Economic Characteristics, Final Reports, PC(1)-C Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States PC(2)-1C

Source: HEW, Office of Special Concerns, Office of Asst. Secty. for Planning & Evaluation, A Study of Selected Social Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities, Vol. II; Asian Americans,

Table 6

Percent of all Poverty Households Receiving Public Assistance: 1970

	All Families	Female Head Families	Unrelated Individuals
San Francisco, Calif.			
All Races	31%	48%	13%
Japanese	NA	NA	NA
Chinese	10	19	14
Pilipino	19	NA	8
Los Angeles, Calif.			
All Races	34	51	13
Japanese	12	37	4
Chinese	5	NA	9
Pilipino	8	NA	4
New York County, N. Y.			
All Races	39	58	15
Chinese*	2	0	12 **

*Census Tracts in and near New York's Chinatown only.
**Includes 16% Blacks.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, "Operation Leap" Tabulations (unpublished); Subject Reports: Low Income Areas in Large Cities PC(2)-9B

Source: See Figure 3.

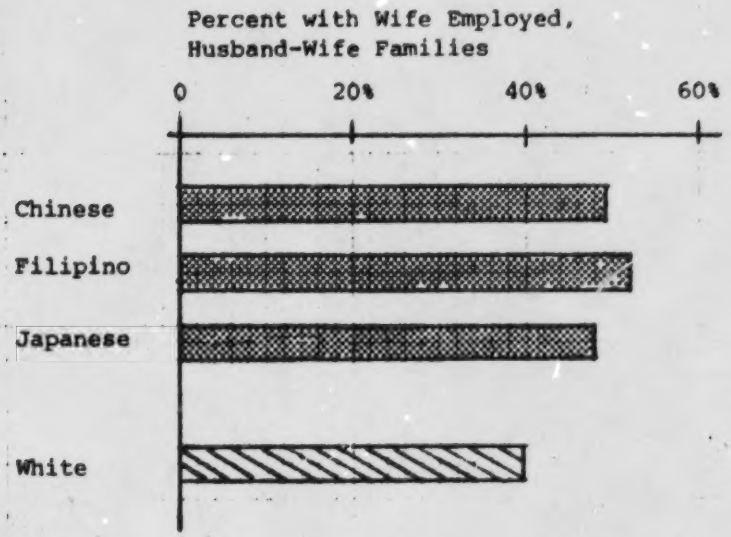
What is happening to the children in these families?

What Figure 3 and Table 6 suggest, however, is that we need much more disaggregated data to understand the public assistance picture. Welfare programs are of a very specific nature with complicated eligibility requirements, and which vary according to state regulations. Figure 3 tends to be misleading when comparing poverty as defined by income guidelines and public assistance which does not depend on income eligibility requirements only. Welfare or public assistance programs are limited to AFDC, old age assistance (non social security), aid to blind and other disabled, and general assistance. What we need to know is what proportion of Asian families receive assistance compared to those who are eligible to receive assistance and how Asians differ from other population groups by this criteria. Certainly, cultural and family structure factors affect AFDC eligbility which requires parents to be absent from the family. Presumably, the blind and disabled would not vary because of ethnic factors. General assistance eligibility requirements would have to be studied comprehensively to determine whether Asians differ significantly from other groups.

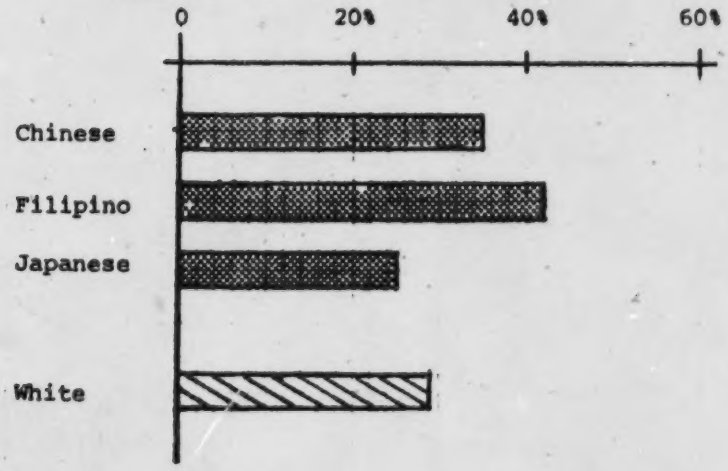
III. Economic, Employment and Marital Status of Asian Women

It would be important to know how many young Asian women believe that their work life will be ended when they are married. If young women believe they will be in the labor force only temporarily until they are married or until they have children, they may be making decisions that affect their ultimate future and economic security in a way that results in continuing their position at the bottom of the economic ladder. Although it is true that married women have a lower labor force participation rate than single women, and that women with children under six have lower work force rates than married women, the probability that an Asian woman will end up working is still high. One out of two married Asian women work, compared to two out of five white women. Among those with children under six, 42% of the Filipino women work, 33% of the Chinese women, and 25% of the Japanese women work. As we saw already from Figure 1, there is a drop in labor force participation rates among all groups of women in the 25-34 age bracket. But we also see increases in the labor force participation rates among women in the 35-44 age group. Undoubtedly, the 25-34 years are prime child bearing years. Figure 4 shows in bar graph form the proportion of families where the wives work even though husbands are present, with and without young children. In every case except for Japanese families with young children, Asian women continue to work in higher proportions than in white families.

Figure 4A Labor force status of married Asian and white women in California in 1970.



4B. Percent with Wife Employed, Husband-Wife Families with Children Under 6 Years Old



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; _____, Final Report PC(1)-D6.

The significance of this information is critical for counseling young Asian women on their economic future, their career choices, their educational choices; it is also important for young women who are already in the work force to understand what the future is likely to hold for them so they can begin to improve their economic status.

Tables 7a and 7b display information on the marital status of Asian women in general and of those who are heads of households. Table 7a (which relates to California as a whole) shows that Chinese, Filipino and Japanese women remain single in higher proportions than do white women. The reasons for this pattern certainly need to be explored before commenting on the significance of this fact. The differences could be the result of a different age structure especially as the age structure may be altered by immigration patterns.

Table 7b which relates to the urban areas within California shows that widowhood is the primary factor making Chinese and Japanese women heads of households. For Filipino women, widowhood is also a significant category, but outranked by husbands who are absent as the factor making them household heads. A substantial proportion of female household heads are divorced or separated.

Table 7a. Marital Status of Asian Women and White Women in California: 1970.

Marital Status	Ethnicity			
	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	White
No., 16 yrs+	58,782	39,633	85,811	6,531,782[a]
Single	28.7%	25.5%	21.0%	17.0%
Married with Husband present	57.1%	59.5%	63.5%	60.6%
Separated	0.9%	1.4%	1.1%	2.0%
Husband absent	2.4%	6.8%	2.3%	1.8%
	14.3	14.9		15.5
Widowed	9.0%	4.2%	8.8%	11.8%
Divorced	2.0%	2.5%	3.3%	6.8%

Sources: 1970 Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G
1970 Census, Subject Report PC(1)-D6

a/14 yrs + for whites.

Table 7b. Marital Status of Female Heads of Household in Urban California, 1970

Marital Status	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
Single	13.1%	14.7%	14.3%
Separated	6.2	8.0	9.2
Other Married	9.1	35.6	15.4
Divorced	20.9	18.7	27.4
Widowed	50.8	23.1	33.7

Source: 1970 Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G

Table 7C

Number and Occupational Distribution
of Asian and White Female Heads of Households
in Urban California, 1970

	White[a/]	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
No. of Female Heads of Household	470,843	2,916	2,572	4,674
% of All Families	10.7%	7.9%	9.3%	10.1%
No. of Employed Female Heads	273,781	1,831	1,512	3,060
Professionals	15.9%	18.5%	25.1%	14.5%
Managers	5.7	5.6	6.7	4.0
Sales	6.2	3.8	2.8	4.2
Clerical	38.8	29.5	30.2	37.3
Crafts	14.6	2.2	1.9	2.2
Operatives		25.9	12.2	14.4
Laborers	0.8	1.1	0.5	0.9
Farmers	0	0.6	0	0.4
Farm Laborers	0.6	0.2	0	0.9
Service Workers	15.6	11.6	24.3	15.2
Private Household Wrk.	1.9	1.0	2.3	5.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G;
_____, Final Report PC(1)-D6, p. 6-2347, 6-2693

a/Total State: urban plus rural.

Table 7C shows the occupational distribution of Asian and white women who are heads of household in urban California areas. We see that a substantial proportion of Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women are employed in the professional occupations where their opportunities to earn a decent living on which to support a family are better than for most other occupations. However, the majority of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino women are concentrated in clerical, operatives, and service jobs where salaries are poor. Thus, women who become heads of households for the various reasons indicated above find a hard time earning enough income to support a family.

In the study on Asian Americans put out by the Office of Special Concerns of HEW (1975), it was reported that the large increase in labor force participation between 1960 and 1970 for Asian women was primarily among married women. In 1960 about 10% of Asian wives worked. By 1970, half of the married women worked.

The conclusion from these various statistics is that there are many reasons to expect that Asian women will continue to work: economic necessity because of depressed earnings of Asian men, changing social attitudes towards remaining single or becoming divorced, widowhood, a desire for a higher standard of living. Asian women need to be prepared for the eventuality of being in the labor force for most of their lives. Because employment is a dominant fact of life for Asian women, it is imperative that we address the issue of how the earning power of Asian women (and men) can be improved.

IV. Factors Depressing the Earning Power of Asian Women: Effects of Education, Age and Labor Force Participation on Earning Power

Data is available which documents the depressed earning levels of Asian women compared with other women and men. Table 8, taken from Betty Sung's book on Chinese American Manpower and Employment, shows the proportion of Chinese women who earned $10,000 or more in 1970 compared to black and white women, and to Chinese, black and white men. The table also documents what was said earlier about the earnings of Asian men: substantially fewer Chinese men earn $10,000 or more compared to white men with the same educational background.

With respect to women, the table shows dramatically how all women earn substantially less than men at each comparable education level. When Chinese women are compared to black and white women, the picture is mixed. At the high school graduate level, more Chinese women than white or black women earn over $10.000. For college educated women, Chinese fare worse than black or white. At post graduate levels, black and white women do markedly better in earning incomes over $10,000.

Although it is clear that more education improves earnings for Chinese women, and that women should continue to pursue education, it is also clear that Chinese women do not do as well as they could, based on the achievements of black and white women.

Table 9 compares the earnings in the San Francisco-Oakland area of Japanese, Filipino and Chinese women with those of white women.

TABLE 8

Income of Chinese Women Compared to Other Women and Men

U.S., 1970

	% With Income of $10,000 or More	
	Male	Female
High School Graduates:		
White	32.5%	2.4%
Black	10.4	0.9
Chinese	20.9	2.6
College Graduates:		
White	59.6	10.2
Black	35.3	11.2
Chinese	38.3	9.3
Post Graduates:		
White	67.1	27.7
Black	53.0	34.2
Chinese	50.9	13.3

Source: Table 24 of B. L. Sung, Chinese American Manpower and Employment, p. 94. Based on 1970 Census data, Sung also states: "One third of the Chinese females who have ever attended college are in clerical work. More school does not mean better pay for the Chinese."

TABLE 9

Educational and Earnings Comparison of Asian Women and White Women in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA

	WOMEN			
	Japanese	Chinese	Pilipino	White
Percent Earning More Than $10,000[1]	4.36	2.49	2.15	5.27
Percent College Graduates[2]	28.3	23.0	36.5	24.0

Source: 1970 Census

[1]Over age 16 for Asian women, over age 18 for white women.
[2]For ages 25-34.

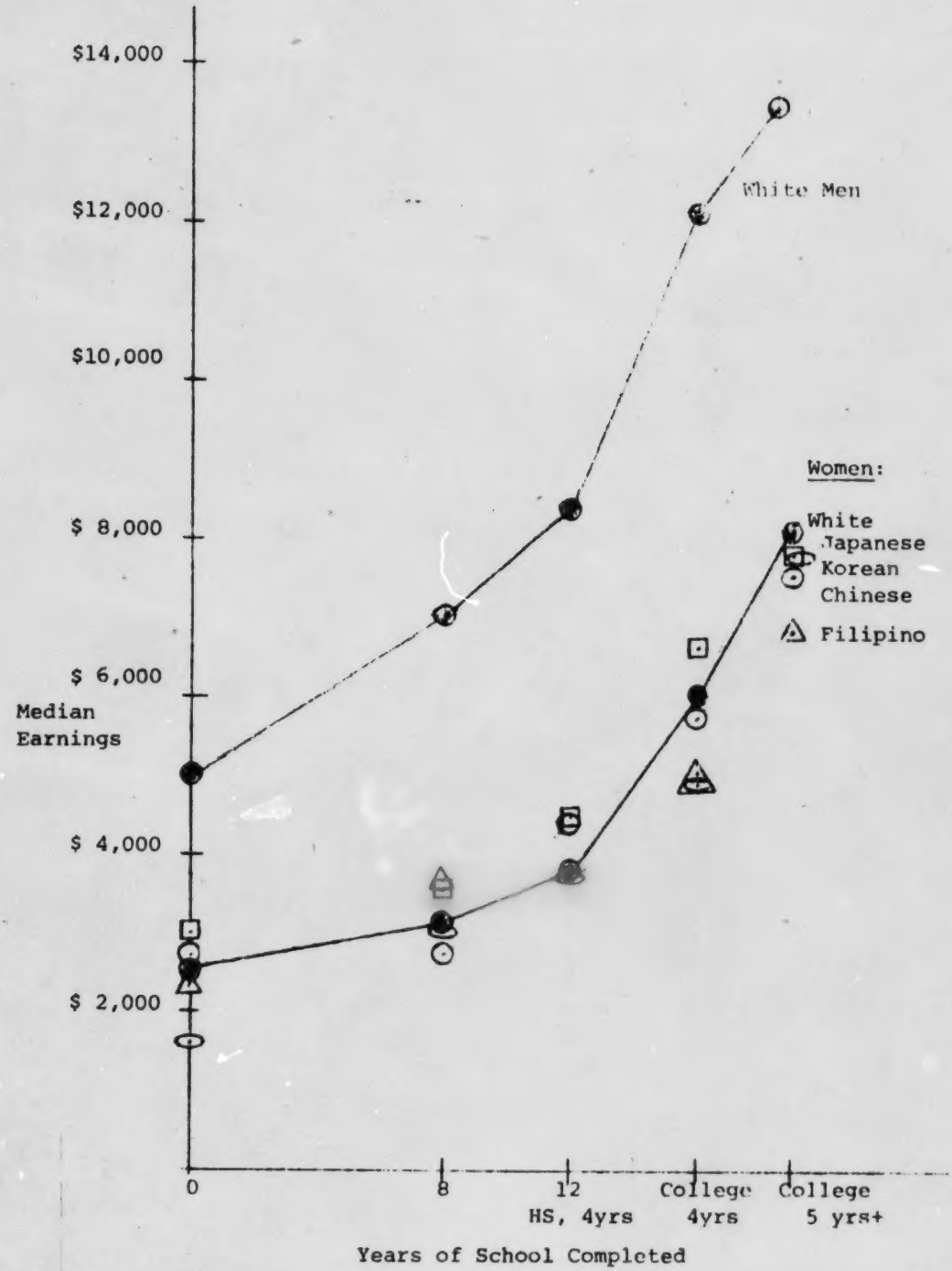
The proportion of Asian women who graduate from college is very considerable and matches or exceeds that for white women. Despite the high educational attainment levels, the proportions who earn $10,000 or more are pitifully small: between 2 and 4 percent. This is miniscule compared to 60 percent of the white male college graduates, or to 38 percent of the Chinese male college graduates.

A major implication of these facts on earnings and education is that Asian women must begin to deal with the present realities of the employment world and to begin to struggle for change if they expect their economic lot to improve.

Asian women do not escape from work through marriage. If Asian women are going to be in the labor force, it is time to start getting paid at salaries commensurate with skills, ability, and training. It is time to raise expectations that higher salaries can be gotten and deserve to be gotten.

Figure 5 shows very graphically the gap in earning power of white men compared to white women and various Asian women. It also shows that Asian women by ethnic category vary in their relative earning positions for each education level. A striking pattern that calls strongly for explanation is why Asian women fall behind white women in earning power as their level of education goes up. What are the characteristics of women who go on for higher education compared to those who do not? What are the characteristics of the educated Asian women compared to their

Figure 5. Median earnings by educational attainment of white men, white women and Asian women in the U.S. in 1969.



Source: G.L. Wilber et al, Orientals in the American Labor Market, Vol. II, (Springfield Va: NTIS, 1976), p. 141

white female counterparts? Is something happening in the educational process that discriminates against the Asian women or that prepares her less well to compete in the job market? Are differences in assertiveness responsible for earning differences? Are occupational or industrial choices or barriers explanations for the earnings differential? Do the differences reflect racial discrimination that white women do not encounter? Do their age differences or differences in the length or quality of work experience of Asian and white women account for the earning power differences. The true status of Asian women is by no means clear.

We know from Table 2 above that Chinese and Japanese women are still heavily enrolled in school in the 18-24 age group. Are they going to school part time and working, thereby taking them longer to finish? Or do they have more total years of education? Do they enter their chosen "career" job at a later age, therefore, than white women, the difference in length of job experience thereby accounting for some of the earnings differences? This explanation, however, tends to be contradicted by the cross-sectional data on the Korean and Filipino women. Filipino women show the biggest gap relative to white women. None of the data presently available are sufficiently broken down in detail to enable us to explore the hypotheses further.

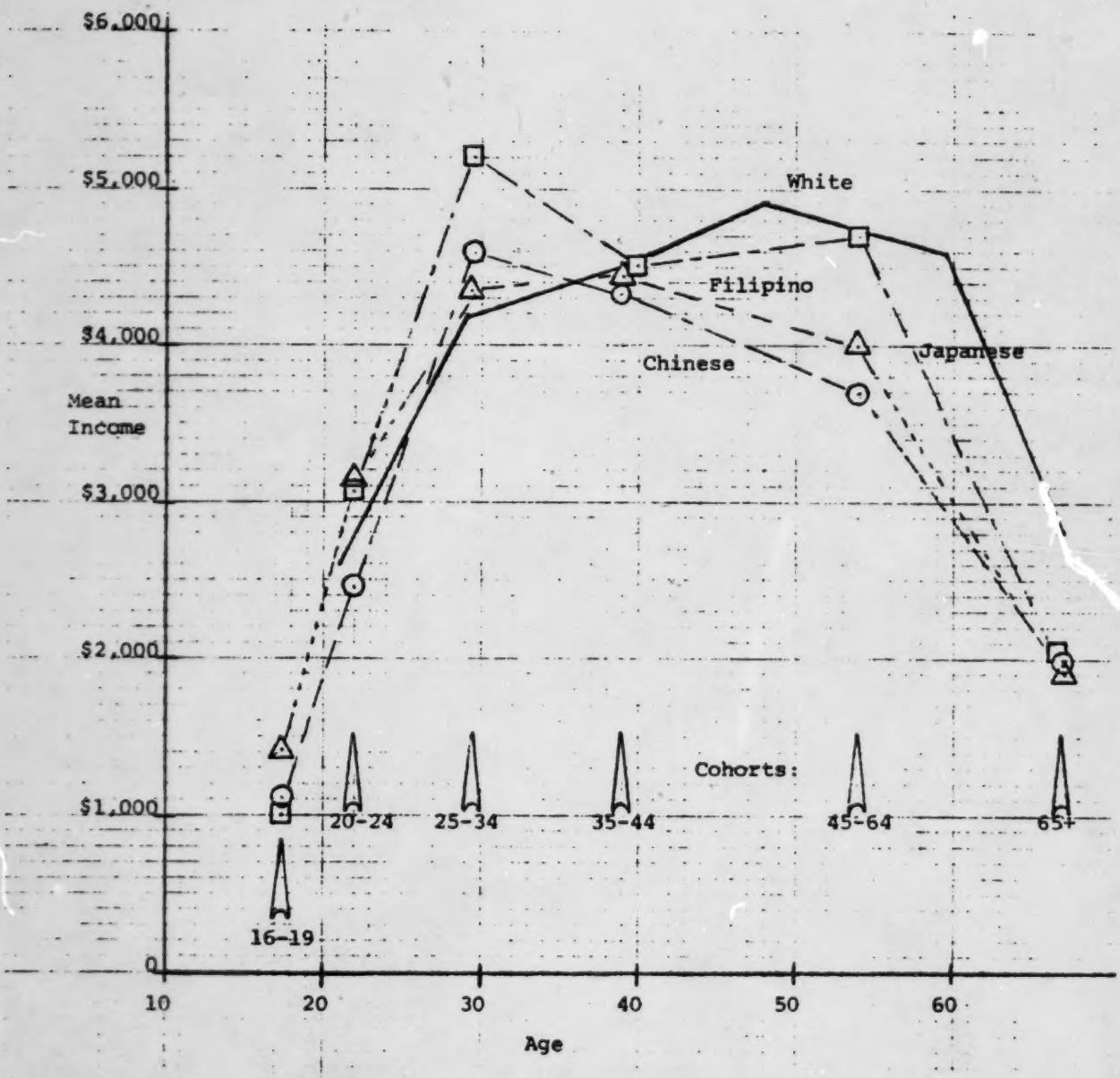
A critical research problem exists if we cannot develop data from raw sources that permit re-aggregation to test alternative

hypotheses. Once data is published in certain aggregates, we cannot manipulate them. Hence, we recommend that for the 1980 Census researchers be provided with raw data on each of the Asian Pacific women groups.

Figure 6 provides additional information, but does not help a lot to explain the differences between Asian and white women. This figure shows mean income by age groups for Filipino, Japanese, and Chinese women, and white women. In the younger age cohorts, the Asian women hold their own or do better than white women. In the older cohorts, after age 34, white women outearn all Asian women except for one brief period when Japanese women about age 54 reach their peak. Comparing Figure 1 with Figure 6 gives a little weight to the possibility that white women build up a longer steady work experience that may account for higher average earnings. Figure 1 shows that Filipino and Chinese women had higher labor force participation at 35-44 than in the 20-24 group. Remembering that this is cross-sectional and not longitudinal data, it is more than likely that new immigrants and other new entrants to the labor force are exerting some downward pressure on average earnings. Longitudinal data or data on earnings by length of time, cumulative and unbroken in the labor force are needed to be able to properly analyze the earnings situation.

Remembering also that Figure 6 is cross-sectional data, the younger Asian women in 1970 as a group probably had higher education levels than did the other Asian women, explaining the income

Figure 6. Mean income by age cohorts of Asian women and white women in California in 1969



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G
_____, Final Report PC91)-D6.

differences in their age cohort. Older white women possibly have more education than older Asian women, accounting for that difference in incomes in those comparable age groups. In the younger age groups, Asian women have more years of education than do white women, accounting for their higher earnings. This is in fact borne out by Figure 7, which shows the educational levels by age groupings.

Figures 6 and 7 together give us some positive encouragement that the higher levels of education of various Asian women are reflected in higher levels of earnings compared to white women and that discrimination in favor of white women may not be the major factor holding Asian women back.

The difficulty is trying to understand the picture presented in Tables 8 and 9 and Figure 5, compared to that in Figures 6 and 7.

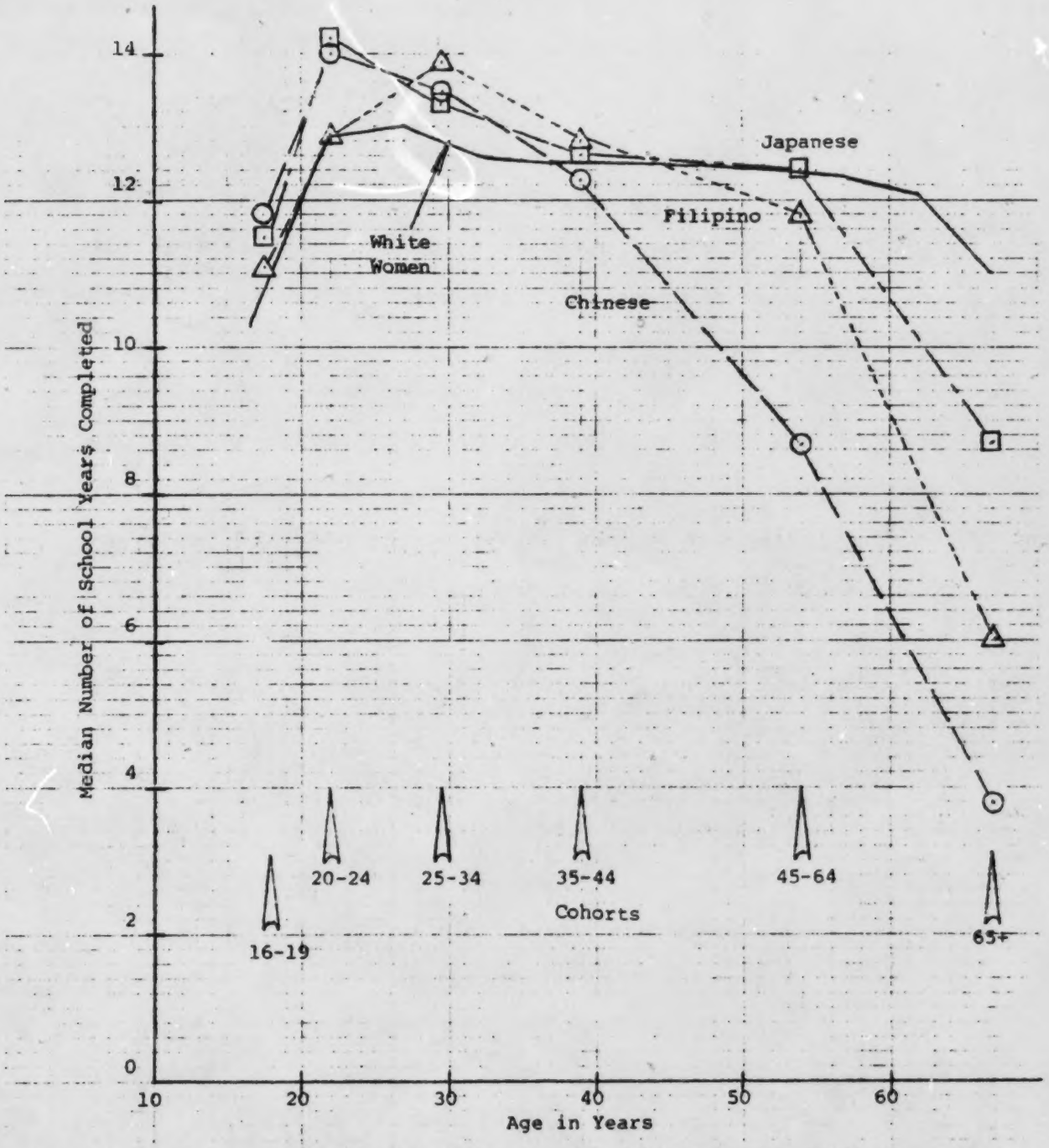
It is essential to develop data on education and earnings controlled by cohorts followed over time. How the data* are aggregated in Figures 5, 6 and 7 and Tables 8 and 9 is critical and may account for the contradictory inferences.

Cross-sectional data, 2-way tables, are insufficient as analytical tools. We need to move to multiple regressions or other analytical tools to assess the relative influence of different factors that may help us understand the economic and employment status of working women.

More emphasis is needed on developing the theoretical

*Again, the data are what is available, not what is required.

Figure 7. Educational status by age cohorts of Asian women and white women in California in 1970.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; _____, Final Report PC(1)-D6.

framework that will generate hypotheses to be tested, that will suggest what data needs to be gathered and in what format, and that will permit systematic and statistically valid tests.

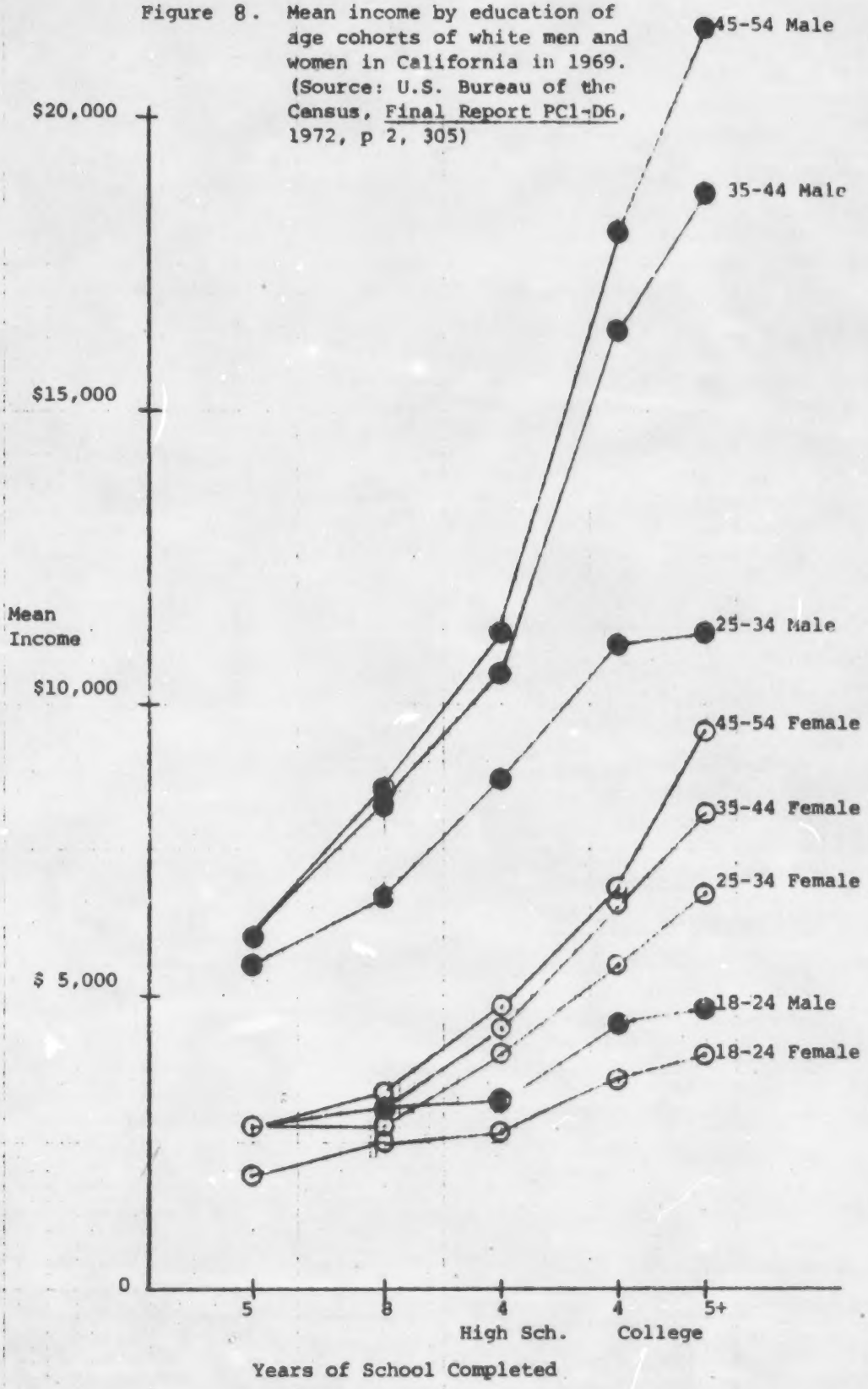
Another key clue about what happens to depress the earning power of women is shown in Figure 8, which shows earnings for white men and white women in California with similar educational levels, but by age cohorts.

Although white men start out with higher earnings than white women with the same education in the 18-24 age group, the differential is relatively small. By the 25-34 age group, however, the differential has already become very substantial with men earning twice or almost twice as much as women with similar education.

If we look back at Figure 1, which shows the labor force participation rates by age group, we see that 25-34 is the age where women drop out sharply from their work. At the very point when men begin to develop their careers and move upward, women are interrupting theirs. By age 35-44 when women are reentering the work force, men's earning capacity is triple theirs.

From Figure 1 we know that Asian women, like white women, show a major withdrawal from the labor force in this same 25-34 age group, only to reenter at age 35 or older. How this interruption disrupts the Asian women's earning ability needs detailed examination. Again longitudinal and cohort data will be critical to proper analysis, and special studies which can delve into these issues are badly needed.

Figure 8. Mean income by education of age cohorts of white men and women in California in 1969. (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Final Report PC1-D6, 1972, p 2, 305)



V. Occupational Stratification Theory

The factors that account for the economic earning power of Asian women will undoubtedly be complex. Economic earning power is a result of many variables: education, skills, language, occupational choice, industry where employed, geography, age, immigration status, cultural and psychological attitudes towards work, aspirations, career, family, marriage. The effect of race and sex discrimination intertwines with all the above factors, making it most difficult to isolate clearly the impact of any variable.

Much theorizing and research has been done for men and other ethnic groups. Drawing on some of the theoretical work done in other areas and testing their applicability to each of the Asian women groupings can provide some assistance in our exploration of what is relevant to our population. One of the more interesting studies is Blau and Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (1967). These writers found that, while socio-economic origins (as measured from a father's education and occupation) had a considerable influence on a son's occupational status, the son's own education and early career had a more pronounced influence on his eventual occupational status.

Early career status was approximately measured from the status of the first job. Education had the strongest effect on occupational status, followed by first job status.

Another study by Sewell and Hauser, Education, Occupation, and Earnings: Achievement in the Early Career (1975), analyzed longitudinally a large sample of Wisconsin high school students (men) who graduated in 1957. Education was again found to have the strongest influence on occupation and earnings, although few of the variables affecting occupation had a significant effect on earnings.

We have seen already that although education does not guarantee high earnings to Asian women, to the extent that Asian women do receive high earnings, it is the educated women who achieve this. In other words, with education an Asian woman has a chance, albeit small, to achieve high earnings. Without education, the chance is negligible. Thus, as efforts are made to eliminate the barriers of race and sex discrimination, the educated women will be the first to benefit. This is another reason why it is important to explore how young Asian women make their education and occupational choices.

The importance of first jobs and early careers is an area which should be explored in great depth for Asian women. One can easily understand why first or early jobs are critical to subsequent labor force mobility. Job experience and opportunities to develop and undertake increasingly diverse and responsible assignments are vital factors in promotions. If first jobs tend to be dead-end jobs, upward earnings mobility is likely to be restricted.

We need to know what kinds of first jobs Asian women get, whether successful Asian women are those whose first job differed significantly than Asian women with low earnings; whether Asian women work while getting their education and whether this pattern disrupts their early career. We need to know how discrimination affects their critical education and early career choices.

Discrimination can take several forms:

1. Occupational discrimination: do Asian women with education and other qualifications end up in lower status occupations than others with similar education and qualifications?
2. Economic discrimination: do Asian women receive lesser wages compared to others in the same occupations?
3. Educational discrimination: do Asian women receive unequal preparation for jobs compared to others?

In this section we will examine the occupational patterns of Asian women and try to suggest some explanations for them.

Table 10 displays a measure of occupational status for Asian women. Data are from George Wilber, et al, Metropolitan and Regional Inequalities among Minorities in the Labor Market (1976). Wilber has constructed an occupational "score" to assign relative status to various occupations and to reflect education, income, and labor market experience. For example, lawyers and judges score .98, civil engineers .88, social workers .72, nurses .48, postal clerks .46, carpenters .37, secretaries .32, and waiters .04. Table 10 shows the scores assigned to Japanese women, Chinese women, and Filipino women. White men and white women are shown as question marks to protest Wilber's failure

Table 10. Occupational Score of Asian Women[a/]

SMSA	Education: Less than High School	High School	College, 1 yr. or more
Honolulu:			
Japanese Women	.17	.26	.44
Chinese Women	.17	.28	.51
Filipino Women	.16	.22	.33
White Men	?	?	?
White Women	?	?	?
San Francisco:			
Japanese Women	.11	.24	.41
Chinese Women	.12	.26	.37
Filipino Women	.22	.23	.37
White Men	?	?	?
White Women	?	?	?
Los Angeles:			
Japanese Women	.12	.24	.42
Chinese Women	.10	.24	.46
Filipino Women	.20	.21	.41
White Men	?	?	?
White Women	?	?	?
Chicago:			
Japanese Women	-	.32	.53
Chinese Women	.13	-	.47
Filipino Women	-	-	.48
White Men	?	?	?
White Women	?	?	?
New York:			
Japanese Women	-	.26	.51
Chinese Women	.10	.23	.41
Filipino Women	-	-	.54
White Men	?	?	?
White Women	?	?	?

- Statistics inadequate for scoring

a/ Source: G. Wilber et al (Volume III: Tables 7E, 7F and 7G)

to provide information which would have been most important for comparative purposes. Clearly, higher scores are correlated with more education. There are also important geographical differences. A better understanding of labor market differences in the various cities and regions could be most helpful in counseling our population groups. Asians are a mobile group, especially the immigrants. Information about differences in job market opportunities and acceptance could be valuable in helping the mobile Asians to improve their economic status. In general, however, Asian women are seen to score at the low end of the scale.

Table 11 shows a comparison by broad occupation category of Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women with white women and white men in the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan area. Clearly, fewer Chinese, Filipino or Japanese women reach the upper level professional/technical or managers/administrators ranks. Like white women, the clerical occupations are the single largest category of employment. Chinese women fall heavily into the operatives rank, which is explained primarily by their concentration in the garment industry. Service work (especially food and cleaning services) are another major occupation that Asian women are concentrated in. For Japanese women, private household work is an important occupation category. These are mostly older Japanese women. Few Asian women are found in sales work, crafts, laborers, and farm work occupations.

Table 11. Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of Asian Women with that of White Men and White Women in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA: 1970

Broad Occupation	Occupational Distribution: White Men	White Women	Chinese Women	Filipino Women	Japanese Women
Professionals/Technicians	20.9%	19.9%	10.9%	14.7%	16.5%
Managers/Administrators	14.6	5.3	3.2	1.9	3.4
Sales Workers	9.8	8.9	5.8	2.8	4.7
Clerical Workers	9.2	45.1	38.2	50.8	39.8
Crafts Workers	19.9	1.4	1.6	1.0	1.8
Operatives	12.6	5.2	26.3	6.4	7.7
Laborers	4.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.6
Farmers/Managers	} 0.5	} 0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Farm Laborers			0.2	0.5	1.5
Service Workers	7.9	11.6	11.1	18.7	12.3
Private Household Workers	0.1	2.0	2.2	2.5	11.5
All Occupations	575,002 (100%)	361,281 (100%)	16,279 (100%)	7,963 (100%)	7,464 (100%)

*Total minus Blacks, Asian Americans (Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos), Spanish Surnamed Americans and American Indians.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Reports:

PC(2)-1G "Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States"
PC(2)-1B "Negro Population"
PC(2)-1F "American Indians"
PC(2)-1D "Persons of Spanish Surname"
PHC(1)-189 "San Francisco-Oakland, Calif. SMSA"

Table 12 provides data, taken from Betty Sung's book, on the education levels of Chinese women in some of the clerical occupations, for sewers and stitchers, and food service workers, and retail sales. Retail sales, food service, and sewing factory work are occupations for Chinese women who have little education. Except for sewing work, these occupations are also held by high proportions of women with college education. The office clerical positions shows high proportions of college educated women. Even more disheartening is the high proportion of college educated women working in low level food service work. It is highly probable that the retail sales and food service work includes women who work in family owned businesses. It would be useful to know how many of these work outside of the business in another job.

Table 13 is a lengthy table which shows fine detail in the specific types of jobs found within the broad occupational classes. This level of detail is valuable because it provides some important insights on the problems of Asian women. One of the significant features revealed in the professional and technical ranks is that Asian women occupy the lower end of this occupational classification. Asian women are accountants, nurses and health technicians, rather than lawyers, judges, physicians or engineers.

Table 12 . Educational Attainment of Chinese Women Employed in Six Detailed Occupations Where They Are Concentrated: U.S., 1970

Detailed Occupation	No. of Employed Chinese Females, 16 yrs.+	Distribution by Educational Level:			
		Elementary 0-8 yrs.	High School, 1-4 yrs.	College 1-3yrs.	4 yrs+
Sales Clerk, Retail Trade	2,458	34%	38%	24%	4%
Bookkeeper	2,166	0%	44%	37%	19%
Office Machine Operator	1,605	0%	61%	22%	17%
Secretaries, Stenographers and Typists	6,129	1%	56%	36%	7%
Sewers and Stitchers	10,607	72%	23%	5%	0%
Food Service Workers (waitresses, dishwashers, etc.)	5,567	32%	40%	22%	6%

Source: B.L. Sung, Chinese American Manpower and Employment (Springfield, Va.: NTIS, 1975), pp. 90-92, 115-118.

Table 13 Employment By Detailed Occupation and Employment Levels of Asian Americans for All Industries in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA in 1970.

	Sex M=Male F=Female	No. of Asians/ No. of All Races	% Asian By Sex	z-value	Assessed Level of Employment
Managers and Adm., Salaried:					
-Manufacturing	M	147/9435	1.6%	-8.6	Low
	F	NA		-17.4	Low
-Wholesale/Retail Trade	M	512/12475	4.1%	+3.0	Low
	F	75/2014	3.7%	-17.9	Low
-Transp./Communication and Other Pub. Utilities	M	101/5398	1.9%	-5.2	Low
	F	NA		-13.1	Low
Managers and Administrators, Self-Employed:					
-Construction	M	32/2019	1.6%	-3.9	Low
	F	NA		-8.0	Low
-Manufacturing	M	75/1172	6.4%	+6.5	Fair
	F	NA		-6.1	Low
-Wholesale/Retail Trade	M	825/6053	13.6%	+40.3	High
	F	171/1280	13.4%	-3.8	Low
Managers and Administrators:					
Buyers/Purchasing Agents and Sales Managers	M	494/13787	3.6%	-1.3	Low
	F	105/3059	3.4%	-18.5	Low
School Administrators	M	54/2367	2.3%	-5.4	Low
	F	7/1166	0.6%	-10.0	Low
Managers and Administrators in Public Adm.	M	217/5775	3.8%	+2.9	Low
	F	NA		-13.6	Low

Table 13

	Sex M=Male F=Female	No. of Asians/ No. of All Races	% Asian By Sex	z-value	Assessed Level of Employment
Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers:					
Accountants	M	1094/12268	8.9%	+25.8	High
	F	446/ 4401	10.1%	-3.2	Low
Architects	M	220/2296	9.6%	+17.9	High
	F	NA		-8.6	Low
Computer Specialists	M	349/4920	7.1%	+10.1	Fair
	F	158/1739	9.1%	-3.4	Low
Civil Engineers	M	707/5839	12.1%	+39.7	High
	F	NA		-13.7	Low
Elec./Electronic Engineers	M	413/5374	7.7%	+19.4	High
	F	NA		-13.1	Low
Mechanical Engineers	M	242/3711	6.5%	+12.0	Fair
	F	NA		-10.9	Low
Lawyers and Judges	M	72/6160	1.2%	-8.7	Low
	F	NA		-14.0	Low
Life/Physical Scientists	M	403/4801	8.4%	+17.3	High
	F	111/ 888	12.5%	-5.0	Low
Dentists	M	184/2211	8.3%	+14.2	High
	F	NA		-8.4	Low
Physicians	M	284/6613	4.3%	+5.6	Low
	F	NA		-14.5	Low
Registered Nurses	M	NA		-22.6	Low
	F	983/15919	6.2%	+22.4	Fair
Health Technicians	M	235/1805	13.0%	+5.7	High
	F	403/3466	11.6%	+19.0	High
Religious Workers	M	163/2473	6.6%	+10.0	Fair
	F	NA		-8.9	Low

Table 13

	Sex M=Male F=Female	No. of Asians/ No. of All Races	% Asian By Sex	z-value	Assessed Level of Employment
Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers:					
Social Scientists	M	82/2439	3.4%	-1.9	Low
	F	12/829	1.4%	-9.0	Low
Social & Rec. Workers	M	224/3507	6.4%	-2.4	Low
	F	237/4941	4.8%	-1.6	Low
Teachers: College/Univ.	M	328/7337	4.5%	+1.0	-
	F	120/2705	4.4%	-11.0	Low
Elementary and Prekindergarten	M	107/3394	3.2%	-23.1	Low
	F	733/19746	3.7%	+0.6	-
Secondary	M	153/7619	2.0%	-14.8	Low
	F	284/7525	3.8%	- 8.7	Low
Eng'g/Science Technicians	M	1356/13126	10.3%	+41.2	High
	F	179/2147	8.3%	-13.7	Low
Writers, Artists and Entertainers	M	635/13224	4.8%	+1.7	-
	F	245/5947	4.1%	-14.6	Low
Sales Workers:					
Insurance, R.E. Agents and Brokers	M	416/13692	3.0%	-5.5	Low
	F	120/3775	3.2%	-18.4	Low
Sales Rep., Manuf	M	55/6806	0.8%	-10.9	Low
	F	NA		-14.8	Low
Sales Rep., Wh. Trade	M	348/12368	2.8%	- 1.8	Low
	F	NA		-19.9	Low
Sales Clerks, Retail	M	1000/14786	6.8%	- 7.9	Low
	F	1305/26443	4.9%	- 0.8	-
Salespersons, Retail	M	139/6545	2.1%	- 6.6	Low
	F	22/1180	1.9%	-14.3	Low
Clerical and Kindred Workers:					
Bank Tellers/ Cashiers	M	591/4562	13.0%	-1.3	-
	F	1193/15551	7.7%	+23.2	High

Table 13

	Sex M=Male F=Female	No. of Asians/ No. of All Races	% Asian By Sex	z-value	Assessed Level of Employment
Clerical and Kindred Workers:					
Bookkeepers	M	719/5867	12.3%	-8.7	Low
	F	1753/26015	6.7%	+24.7	Fair
File Clerks	M	NA		-15.5	Low
	F	827/7478	11.1%	+39.7	High
Office Mach. Oper.	M	NA		-18.5	Low
	F	1556/10710	14.5%	+68.2	High
Receptionists	M	NA		-14.5	Low
	F	292/6552	4.5%	+6.3	Low
Secretaries	M	NA		-42.3	Low
	F	2499/55,800	4.5%	+18.8	Low
Telephone Oper.	M	NA		-17.5	Low
	F	334/9539	3.5%	+2.3	Low
Typists	M	NA		-27.4	Low
	F	2261/23,497	9.6%	+57.7	High
Postal Clerks	M	1487/11587	12.8%	+60.5	High
	F	NA		-19.3	Low
Craftsmen:					
Carpenters	M	255/13523	1.9%	-8.1	Low
	F	NA		-20.8	Low
Electricians	M	288/6860	4.2%	+5.2	Low
	F	NA		-14.8	Low
Painters	M	194/6640	2.9%	-0.8	Low
	F	NA		-14.6	Low
Plumbers	M	143/5490	2.6%	-2.1	Low
	F	NA		-13.3	Low
Linemen, Telephone and Power	M	190/6834	2.8%	-1.5	-
	F	NA		-14.8	Low

Table 13

	Sex M=Male F=Female	No. of Asians/ No. of All Races	% Asian By Sex	z-value	Assessed Level of Employment
Mechanics:					
-Aircraft	M	452/6804	6.6%	+16.9	Fair
	F	NA		-14.8	Low
-Automobile	M	598/12996	4.6%	+9.9	Low
	F	NA		-20.4	Low
-Radio/TV	M	339/2647	12.8%	+28.8	High
	F	NA		- 9.2	Low
Machinists	M	269/7337	3.7%	+2.8	Low
	F	NA		+15.3	Low
Sheet Metal Workers	M	156/3578	4.4%	+4.3	Low
	F	NA		-10.7	Low
Printing Crafts-person	M	312/6502	4.8%	+7.9	Low
	F	NA		-14.4	Low
Power Station Oper.	M	105/2918	3.6%	+1.6	-
	F	NA		-9.7	Low
Operatives, Except Transport:					
Assemblers	M	296/5212	5.7%	-1.1	Fair
	F	301/4965	6.1%	-0.8	Fair
Checkers, Examiners and Insp., Manuf.	M	131/2952	4.4%	-3.6	Low
	F	107/2789	3.8%	-5.4	Low
Garage Workers and Gas Station Attendants	M	451/7584	5.9%	+14.3	Fair
	F	NA		-15.6	Low
Laundry Oper.	M	429/1334	32.2%	+22.0	High
	F	521/3734	14.0%	+29.5	High
Butchers	M	621/4060	15.3%	+44.8	Very High
	F	NA		-11.4	Low
Packers and Wrappers, Exc. Produce	M	204/2889	7.1%	-3.6	Low
	F	399/5530	7.2%	+8.7	Fair

Table 13

	Sex M=Male F=Female	No. of Asians/ No. of All Races	% Asian By Sex	z-value	Assessed Level of Employment
Operatives, Except Transport:					
Sewers and Stitchers	M	NA		- 13.8	Low
	F	3437/5914	58.1%	+244.1	High
Welders	M	383/5914	6.5%	+15.0	Fair
	F	NA		-13.8	Low
Oper., Fab. Metal Products	M	76/2053	3.7%	+1.6	-
	F	NA		-8.1	Low
Oper., Electrical Machinery	M	70/1563	4.5%	-0.4	-
	F	14/811	1.7%	-7.1	Low
Oper., Food & Kindred Prod.	M	136/2344	5.8%	+3.3	Fair
	F	50/975	5.1%	-5.3	Low
Oper. Paper Prod.	M	16/1562	1.0%	-4.7	Low
				-7.1	
Oper., Chemical Prod.	M	42/1434	2.9%	-0.4	-
				-6.8	
Transport Equipment Operatives:					
Bus Drivers	M	90/3402	2.6%	-1.5	Low
	F	NA		-10.4	Low
Taxicab Drivers	M	111/2922	3.8%	+2.2	Low
	F	NA		-9.7	Low
Truck Drivers & Deliverymen	M	628/27,369	2.3%	-7.7	Low
	F	NA		-29.6	Low
Laborers:					
Construction	M	155/7896	2.0%	-5.8	Low
	F	NA		-15.9	Low
Freight, Stock and Material Handlers	M	1263/23049	5.5%	+20.8	Fair
	F	NA		- 27.2	Low
Farmers and Farm Managers	M	276/1743	15.8%	+27.8	High
	F	36/239	15.1%	-3.3	Low
Farm Laborers	M	387/3536	10.9%	+20.4	High
	F	216/1146	18.8%	+6.0	High

Table 13

	Sex M=Male F=Female	No. of Asians/ No. of All Persons	% Asian By Sex	z-value	Assessed Level of Employment
Service Workers:					
Cleaning Service	M	2459/23397	10.5%	[illegible]	High
	F	612/7142	8.6%	-11.0	Low
Food Service:					
-Cooks	M	2754/8949	30.8	+114.2	High
	F	355/4852	7.3%	-3.6	Low
-Waitresses and Food Counter Workers	M	NA			
	F	1053/14802	7.1%	+28.2	Fair
-Busboys and Dishwashers	M	1564/5790	27.0%	+105.0	High
	F	NA			
Health Service:	M	157/2297	6.8%	-18.1	Low
	F	1063/16,695	6.4%	+19.9	Fair
Personal Service:	M	828/7788	10.6%	+3.4	High
	F	1090/16024	6.8%	+13.2	Fair
Protective Service Worker:					
-Fireman	M	11/4843	0.2%	-11.5	Low
	F	NA		-12.4	Low
-Guards and Watchmen	M	176/4537	3.9%	+3.0	Low
	F	NA		-12.0	Low
-Policemen and Detectives	M	117/6880	1.7%	-6.7	Low
	F	NA		-14.8	Low
Private Household Workers:	M	374/1075	34.8%	-7.7	High
	F	1689/16,696	10.1%	+49.3	High

NA denotes no data available; (Low) - assumed from paucity of data

Source: Bureau of Census
Census of Population: 1970
Detailed Characteristics
Final Report PC(1)-D6 California Section 1, pp. 6-1597 to 6-1599.
Asians assumed from total less Whites, Blacks and Spanish.

The z-value is a measurement of the statistical significance of the indicated disparity in employment level. When the absolute value of z is greater than 1.64, the level of significance of the disparity is higher than 0.05 (using

(Table 13)

a "one tailed test"); in other words, there is less than one chance in twenty that the disparity is due to random chance. From standard statistical theory, the z-value is the standardized variable of the normal approximation to the binomial distribution. The z-value is given by

$$z = \frac{p - P}{\sqrt{P(1-P)/N}}$$

where p = the proportion of Asian females (or Asian males) in the total workforce composed of all races and both sexes.

P = the ideal proportion of Asian females (or Asian males) in a discrimination-free labor market with all barriers removed; this assumes that parity is given by participation at racial population proportion levels and equal participation by the sexes. For Asian American females (or males) in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA in 1970, P = 0.062 ÷ 2.

N = the total workforce composed of all races and both sexes.

It is important to point out that the standard deviation for the proportion of Asians employed (p) is $\sqrt{P(1-P)/N}$ and is thus determined by parity P and not p (as a sample proportion). The fundamental assumption is that Asians would tend to participate at population parity levels in a true discrimination-free labor market.

Another important factor shown by the detail is the underrepresentation of both Asian men and women in occupations that require substantial public contact work or high language facility. Thus Asians tend to be found in jobs such as accounting, science, and engineering, but not in teaching, law, or sales. For the Asian female, this characteristic is most interestingly shown in the clerical categories. Asian women show up as bank tellers, bookkeepers, file clerks, machine operators, but not as receptionists, secretaries, or telephone operators. Those who show up in sales work may well be dominated in this geographic region by people who work in the ghetto stores, in Chinatown especially.

We believe this particular characteristic of low employment in jobs that require public contact or English language skills is a direct result of the Asian people's experience with racial discrimination in this country. Asians learned to survive in this country by becoming self effacing, quiet and passive. By not calling attention to ourselves, we hoped to be able to avoid the consequences of racial oppression. By working in jobs that enabled us to avoid interaction with other people, we would be less likely to encounter unpleasant episodes. Even in 1970, the effects of historical laws that excluded us from certain occupations and relegated us to others continues to be reflected in the proportions of Asians found in the low level food service and cleaning occupations.

It should be noted from this table that Asian women are underrepresented in virtually every occupational category - except those which have been traditionally reserved for us - if we look at what the occupational distribution would be in the absence of both race and sex discrimination. The last column in the table, labeled "Assessed Level of Employment", reflects the results of statistical tests measuring the difference between the proportions of Asian women in each job category and their parity level. Parity level was defined as the proportion of Asian women in the overall population and the assumption is that in the absence of both race and sex discrimination Asian women would tend to occupy the various job categories in proportion to their overall population representation.

The stereotype of the passive, quiet Asian, coupled with stereotypes about what is proper behavior for women, have undoubtedly contributed to this particular occupation pattern for Asian women. Unfortunately, stereotypes are chains that bind both the employer and the job seeker. On the one hand, employers have difficulty in overcoming their practices of relegating Asian women to certain traditional jobs, regardless of their qualifications. And on the other hand, Asian women hold ourselves back by accepting other's views of what we should aspire to or how we should behave. Asian women especially need to learn to raise their expectations and to assert themselves for what is justly due to them.

These data suggest that an important component may be missing from the education of Asian women that does not satisfactorily prepare them to compete in the job market. Besides needing counseling on their employment prospects and their work life expectancy, Asian women need to be prepared for public contact, interaction with other people, need to have verbal skills improved, and need to learn how to be assertive.

Another hypothesis which has been suggested to explain why women's earnings are lower than men's is the "crowding hypothesis". This theory proposes that women compete with other women for jobs within a very small range of occupations open to them. The effect of this oversupply of labor is to depress the average wage level in these jobs. Such a theory is certainly consistent with traditional economic wage theory and consistent with discriminatory practices that effectively keep women within a limited segment of the labor market.

VI. Occupational Distribution and Age Cohorts

Tables 14 A,B,C show occupational distributions for broad job categories for Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women in California in 1970. One of the most interesting features of all three tables is that the proportion of professional women peaks in the 25-34 age cohort. Again, it should be remembered that these are cross section and not longitudinal data. It would be most helpful to have time series data that would show what happened to Asian professional women as they got older. One of the factors that may explain why the 25-34 cohort shows the highest proportion of professional women is the labor force participation rate by age group discussed earlier. As we saw before, each of the ethnic groups show this age bracket to be the one where women drop out from the work force most significantly. What may occur is that the women most likely to drop out are those in the lower occupational classifications because they have no career at stake. This would result in the professional women having a larger percentage in the distribution simply for arithmetic reasons. As the clerical, operative, and service workers come back into the labor force in the older age groups, the proportion of professional women would decline again for arithmetic reasons. In order to validate this hypothesis, it would be necessary to have labor force participation data by age and occupation.

Table 14A. Occupational Distribution By Age Cohort of Chinese Women in California: 1970

Occupation	Occupational Distribution by Age Cohort					
	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
No. Employed	2,600	5,202	6,062	6,990	7,169	552
Professionals	4%	14%	31%	15%	7%	8%
Managers	-	2	3	4	6	3
Sales Workers	16	5	3	4	5	7
Clerks	58	57	37	31	22	11
Crafts	-	1	1	2	2	3
Operatives	3	6	16	31	39	46
Laborers	1	1	-	-	1	2
Farmers	-	-	-	-	1	1
Farm Laborers	1	-	-	-	1	1
Service Workers	13	12	7	12	14	12
Private Household Workers	2	1	2	2	3	7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G.

Table 14B. Occupational Distribution By Age Cohort of Filipino Women in California: 1970.

Occupation	Occupational Distribution by Age Cohort					
	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
No. Employed	1,064	3,398	7,178	5,263	3,550	164
Professionals	3%	13%	30%	22%	16%	9%
Managers	1	-	2	2	3	12
Sales Workers	11	2	2	3	4	5
Clerks	57	59	41	31	22	22
Crafts	-	1	1	2	1	-
Operatives	4	7	9	18	20	10
Laborers	-	1	-	1	1	-
Farmers	-	-	-	-	1	-
Farm Laborers	3	1	-	1	3	-
Service Workers	19	14	13	19	25	14
Private Household Workers	1	2	1	2	3	27

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G.

Table 14C Occupational Distribution By Age Cohort of Japanese Women in California: 1970.

Occupation	Occupational Distribution by Age Cohort					
	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
No. Employed	2,154	5,363	8,242	11,625	12,743	1,274
Professionals	5%	21%	31%	12%	9%	4%
Managers	1	1	3	3	5	3
Sales Workers	22	5	2	4	6	3
Clerks	49	53	41	37	33	7
Crafts	-	1	1	2	2	1
Operatives	3	3	7	19	20	18
Laborers	2	-	-	1	1	5
Farmers	-	-	-	-	2	3
Farm Laborers	2	-	1	2	3	13
Service Workers	14	13	12	15	10	6
Private Household Workers	3	2	2	4	9	37

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G.

Another interesting pattern shown in Tables 14 A,B,C is that clerical work among older Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino women is less prevalent than among younger women. The older women, who tend to have less education, are more concentrated in the operatives and service occupations. This may also be a result of a lower level of English facility among older women, especially if they are immigrants, who would thereby be excluded from most clerical jobs.

So few women are in managerial positions that it may not really be safe to comment on the age patterns shown in the table. The data, however, are consistent with the expectation that some mobility into managerial ranks would come with age (as a proxy for labor market experience). The very slightly higher levels for Japanese and Chinese women might reflect the higher proportions of self employed persons in these two ethnic groupings.

Sales workers also tend to be an occupation more readily entered into by younger Asian women. Again, this may well be the result of better English language skills among younger women.

The age cohort data is also interesting with respect to the earlier mentioned theory of Blau and Duncan on the significance of the first job. Blau and Duncan also found that first job

status was important on ultimate occupational status if the first job did not interrupt the educational process. That is, those who have their schooling delayed by the first job are positively correlated with a socio-economic background that is unfavorable to nigh occupational status.

These tables show that the youngest Asian women are heavily concentrated in the low status, low mobility jobs: clerical, sales, and service. Even if the low job status of the Asian female teen-ager is part time work while going to school (although this is not clearly the case since data on part time work shows that teenagers have the smallest proportion of part time workers) the Blau and Duncan study implies that this may be disadvantageous.

However, the first job status may be better characterized by the job distribution of the 20-24 age cohort, especially since this is the group at which educational attainment peaks for all but Filipino women. Looking at Tables 14 A,B,C we see that substantially more women in this age group fall into the professional occupations. However, between 50 and 60 percent are still in the clerical occupations. Service work, sales, and operatives account for most of the other women's occupation for these age groups, again depressingly low level jobs.

VII. Occupational Mobility

Table 15 provides some data on occupational distributions in 1960 and 1970, for Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino women. What this table does is to compare the occupational distributions of the 25 to 34 cohort of 1960 with the 35 to 44 cohort of 1970. The assumption is that the 1970 group approximates a longitudinal reflection of the 1960 group. This may very well be not true, however, since we know that the late 60s was a period of high immigration, especially for Chinese and Filipinos. The comparison, nevertheless, shows that the 1960 cohort had fewer professionals, about the same proportion of clerical, significantly more operatives, and about the same proportion of service workers.

Among the Chinese women, the educational status was about the same, but the proportion of clerks decreased and the proportions of operatives and service workers rose. The large increase in the size of the cohort most likely reflects that the two groups were made up of different individuals.

Among the Filipino women, there was a sizeable increase in the proportion of professionals, a small decrease in the proportion of clerks, but an increase in the proportions of operatives and service workers. There was also some gain in proportion of Filipino women in the crafts. It should also be noted that the 1960 distributions had a large category of occupation not reported. The Filipino women, like the Chinese women, had a large increase in cohort size, again indicating strongly that the two groups do not overlap.

Table 15. Occupational Distribution and Educational Status of Asian Women in California: the 25-34 Cohorts in 1960 and the 35-44 Cohorts in 1970.

Occupation	Chinese Females		Filipino Females		Japanese Females	
	25-34 Cohort in 1960	35-44 Cohort in 1970	25-34 Cohort in 1960	35-44 Cohort in 1970	25-34 Cohort in 1960	35-44 Cohort in 1970
No. Employed:	3,655	6,990	1,259	5,263	7,185	11,625
Professionals	17.4%	15.0%	15.2%	21.7%	16.8%	12.3%
Managers	2.7	3.6	1.7	1.5	1.2	3.3
Sales Workers	4.5	3.8	3.5	3.2	2.8	4.0
Clerks	39.9	30.5	34.9	31.2	44.5	36.7
Crafts	0.3	1.6	0.3	1.8	0.8	2.1
Operatives	22.0	31.0	15.2	17.9	10.4	19.0
Laborers	0.3	0.4	-	0.6	0.4	1.1
Farmers	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.1	1.2	0.4
Farm Laborers	0.5	0.4	2.0	1.1	3.5	1.6
Service Workers	5.0	11.7	15.4	18.8	9.5	15.4
Private Household Workers	1.0	1.5	1.7	2.1	4.4	4.2
Occupations Not Reported	5.6	-	9.5	-	4.5	-
Number	8,250	12,115	4,068	8,823	18,275	24,044
Educational Status:						
College, 4 yrs+	14%	15%	14%	30%	8%	10%
High School, 4 yrs	31	31	27	23	53	54
Grade School, 8 yrs	5	4	7	5	4	5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G, 1973; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Final Report PC(2)-1C, 1963.

The proportions of Filipino women who were college graduates was substantially larger in 1970 than in 1960, suggesting strongly that many of the immigrants were well educated.

Among the Japanese women, the educational status remained about the same as in 1960, but the proportion of professionals and clerks decreased while the proportion of operatives and service workers increased. We do not know what would account for this change in the occupational picture of Japanese women in these ten years. It should be pointed out that the size of the cohort increased also quite substantially, though proportionately less than for Chinese and Filipino women.

Another way to try to evaluate occupational mobility for Asian women over the ten years between 1960 and 1970 might be to compare directly Tables 14 A,B,C with Table 15 for the same respective age cohorts, i.e., the 25-34 cohort in both years. This would tell us what the occupational prospects were for Asian women at two different points in time.

For Chinese women, it appears that in 1970, the probabilities of being a professional woman were substantially greater: 17% compared to 31% ten years later. There were small decreases in sales work, clerical work; operatives decreased considerably; but a slight increase in service and private household work.

There was a very small and probably not significant increase in managers. However, it appears that the very large gain in professionals outweighed the changes in the several other occupations, and this would appear to be strong evidence of mobility.

Filipino women age 25-34 in 1970 also showed a marked increase in the proportion of professionals compared to 1960: doubling from 15% to 30%. Clerical workers increased somewhat, operatives declined considerably, and service workers declined a little. Like the Chinese women, there was a very small gain in the managers class, and among the crafts. Sales work declined to some extent. On balance, again, it would appear that the very marked increase in professional ranks is important evidence of upward mobility.

Coming to the Japanese women, we again see a very strong increase in the proportion of professional women between 1960 and 1970, suggesting a contradiction to the 25-34/35-44 comparison. A larger increase in the management class shows up for Japanese women than did for Chinese and Filipino women and could be important. Sales and clerical work declined moderately, as did operatives and farm labor. There was some increase in service work and some decline in private household work among Japanese women.

The comparison of the same age cohorts in 1960 and 1970 strongly suggests that upward mobility is possible, especially through the professional occupations and that real progress can be made. Many problems remain, however, as we know that women

occupied the lower level professional jobs in 1970. Hopefully, the 1980 census will reflect still more progress for Asian women, after a decade of affirmative action efforts and programs. With consolidation of efforts by the women's movement and minority groups, with establishment of programs addressing the needs of Asian women, it should be possible for Asian women to move closer towards economic equality.

VIII. Employment Distribution by Industry

As has been demonstrated, Asian women are occupationally clustered into clerical, operative and service worker occupations. The extent of labor market segmentation can be explored in more detail by analyzing Asian employment by industry and occupatonal distributions within industries. Unfortunately, Census data currently are not available for such an analysis; moreover, the Census data that are available are tabulated only by broad industrial groupings such as "wholesale and retail trade", "manufacturing-durable goods" and "finance, insurance and real estate". However, occupational distributions by 2-digit Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) code industries in states and selected SMSA's are published by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.[1/] The data are based on EEO-1 reports required of employers with 100 or more employees (or consolidations of 100 or more employees from different locations of the same establishment). Thus, the data are biased towards the large mainstream-type private employers, a bias that is not at all unacceptable for this analysis since labor market segmentation can well be more prevalent in large employers.

Again, we pursue the analysis at the proper level of disaggregation by area: the SMSA. Moreover, we again choose the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA in order to look for consistency with the analysis of the broad and

detailed occupational distributions previously presented. First, however, we estimate the "coverage" of EEO-1 data for the SMSA: the proportion of employees in the private sector who are accounted for by EEO-1 data. Total private sector employment (total civilian employment less government employment) in the San Francisoc-Oakland SMSA in 1973 was about 1,025,600;[2/] total employment in the SMSA reported in 1973 EEO-1 data (from 2728 firms) amounted to 536,600.[3/] The ratio of the two figures gives 52% for the EEO-1 coverage of the total employment in the private sector in 1973. There were 15,800 Asian women reported in the 1973 EEO-1 data for the SMSA, amounting to a coverage of about 50%. Thus, on the basis of this respectable one-in-two coverage, we proceed with the analysis of the industrial distribution of Asian women based on EEO-1 data.

First we analyze the employment level of Asian women by 2 digit SIC code industry in 1969 and then again in 1973, five years later to detect time trends. (The 1973 data are the latest data published by EEOC.) Then, we analyze the occupational distribution of Asian women in those industries where their employment level is high. Figure 9 is a bar chart presentation of the employment level of Asian women in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA, by specific industries, in 1973 and in 1969; also shown for comparison is the percentage of Asian women in the labor force in 1969 (2.7%) and in 1973 (3.0%). A more

ideal comparison, based on a completely discrimination-free and egalitarian scenario, would be a comparison with the percentage of Asian women in the population (3.5% in 1973). However, for the purposes of this preliminary analysis, the choice of labor force vs. population parity, is not important. Also, the disparities far overshadow these differences in parity level. The EEO-1 data shown in Figure 9 reveals that:

- From 1969 to 1973, in most of the industries, there was little progress towards labor force parity. Depending on the industry, it would take from 5 to 25 years to reach parity. Asian women are employed at less than one-third of labor force parity in all manufacturing industries except for Apparel and Other Textile Products (SIC 23) where the employment level of Asian women was about 4 times parity. This is consistent with the high concentration of garment workers (operatives) among Asian women, particularly Chinese women, previously pointed out in the occupational distributions. There are few Asian women in manufacturing industries such as Paper and Allied Products, Printing and Publishing, Chemicals and Allied Products, Petroleum Products, Primary Metal Products, Fabricated Metal Products, Non-Electrical Machinery and Transportation Equipment.

The industries are identified by 2 digit SIC code in the data shown. The code uniquely describes the types of firms that comprise each industry[4].

- There continues to be few Asian women in the construction industry. There were only about 60 women construction apprentices of all races in all of California in April, 1976, comprising much less than one percent of all such apprentices.[5]

- In the transportation and communications industries, Asian women were at less than one-third of parity in air, water and land (trucking and railroads) transportation industries. Asian women were in excess of parity in the communications industry in which employment is predominantly in the telephone industry. However, their poor occupational distribution in this industry is shown later.

- In wholesale trade, there are only about one-half as many Asian women as would be expected from their proportion in the labor force. In retail trade, they are employed in General Retail Merchandising (department stores) and Eating and Drinking Places (restaurants) much more so than in Food Stores (from EEO-1 data, mostly the chain supermarket stores).

- In the finance industries, Asian women are below parity in Security and Commodity Exchanges but are heavily

employed in Banking and Insurance, where their employments levels nearly doubled from 1969 to 1973. However, we show later the low occupational status of Asian women in these two industries.

- Finally, we see a high employment level for Asian women in the hotel industry, where they are predominantly service workers (waitresses, cleaning maids, and other food and cleaning workers). They are also heavily employed in the Medical and Services industry which is dominated by the Hospital industry where Asian women are mostly nurses and food/cleaning service workers.

The above analysis shows clustering of Asian women into only seven out of thirty major industries in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA. The EEO-1 data released are for industry aggregates of at least five establishments and 5,000 employees in the SMSA. The seven industries are:

- Apparel and Other Textile Products
- Communications
- General Retail Merchandising
- Banking
- Insurance
- Hotels and Other Lodging Places

and Medical and Other Health Services

Of the 15,800 Asian women employed in the thirty industries, 68% were clustered in the above seven industries, as

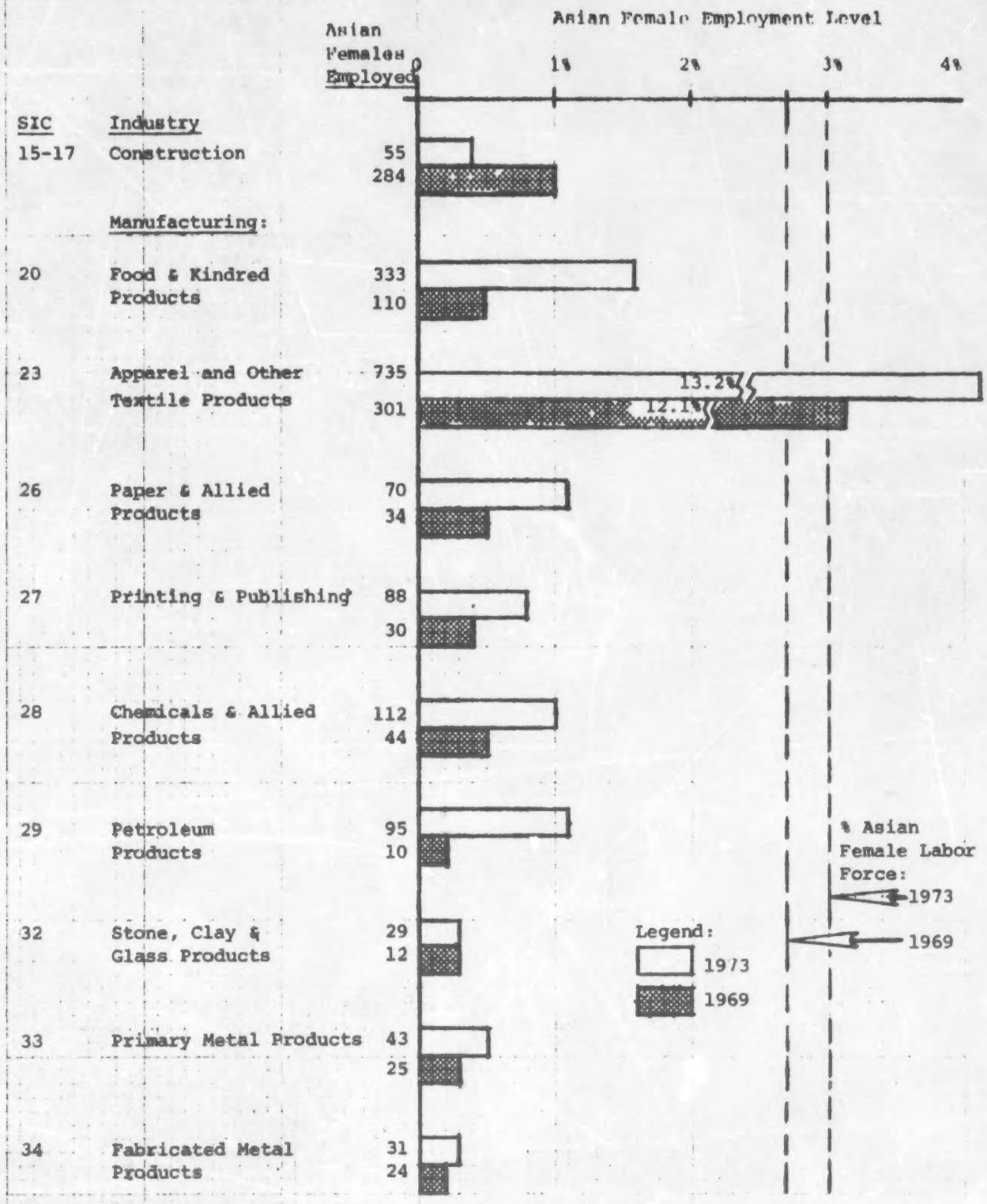


Figure 9. Employment of Asian Women in industries by 2-digit SIC code in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA, based on 1973 EEO-1 data.

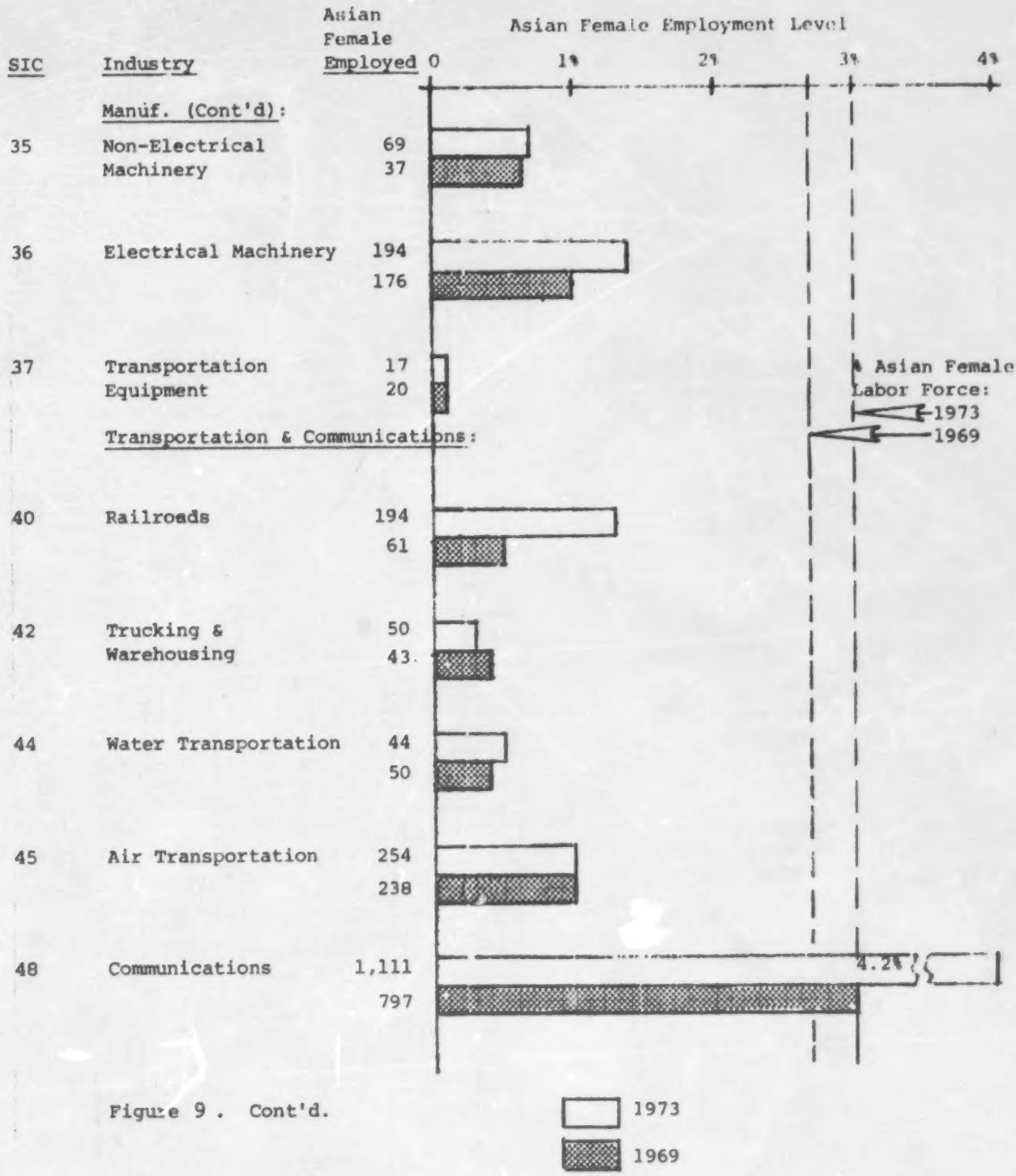
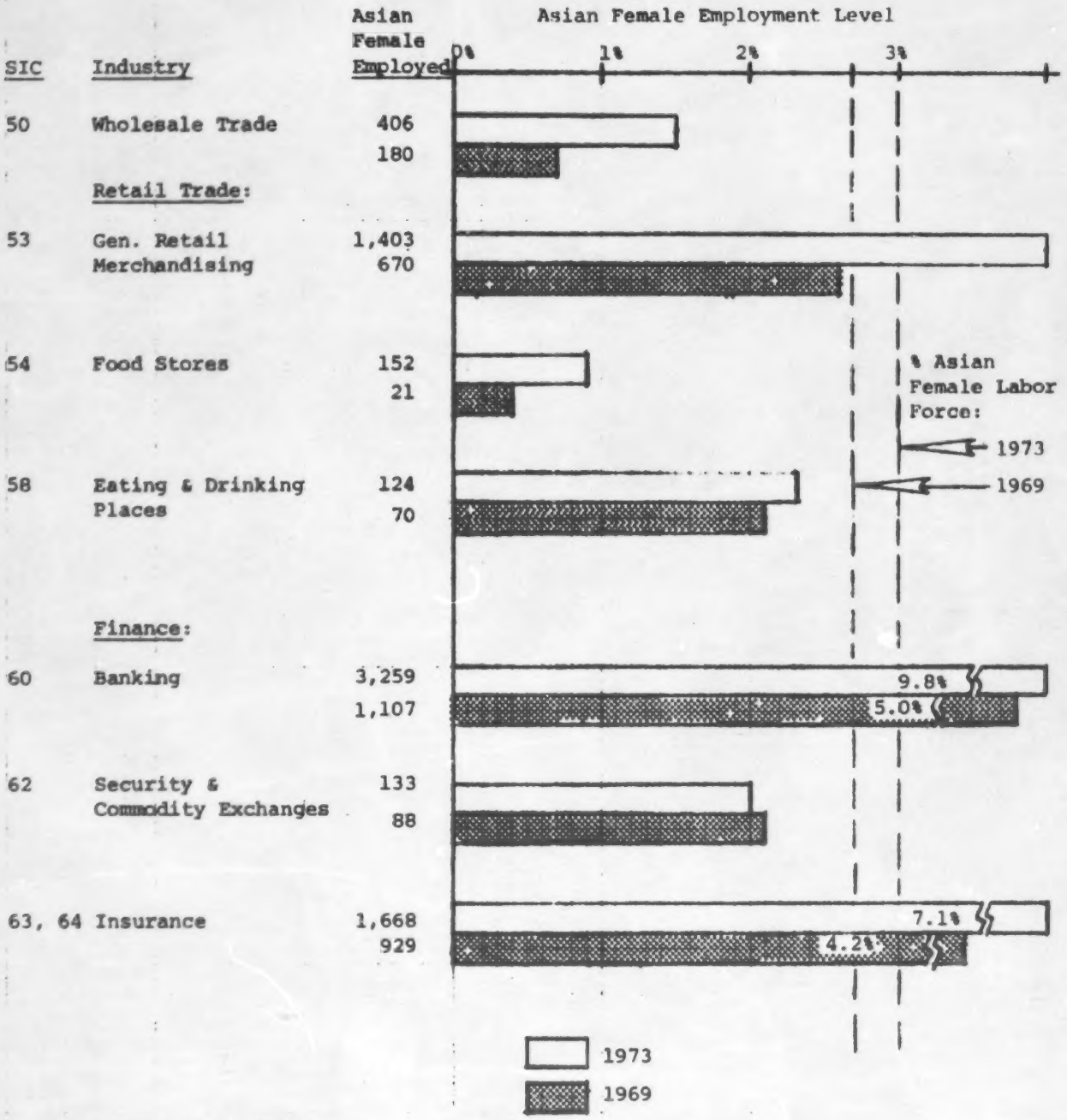


Figure 9 . Cont'd.



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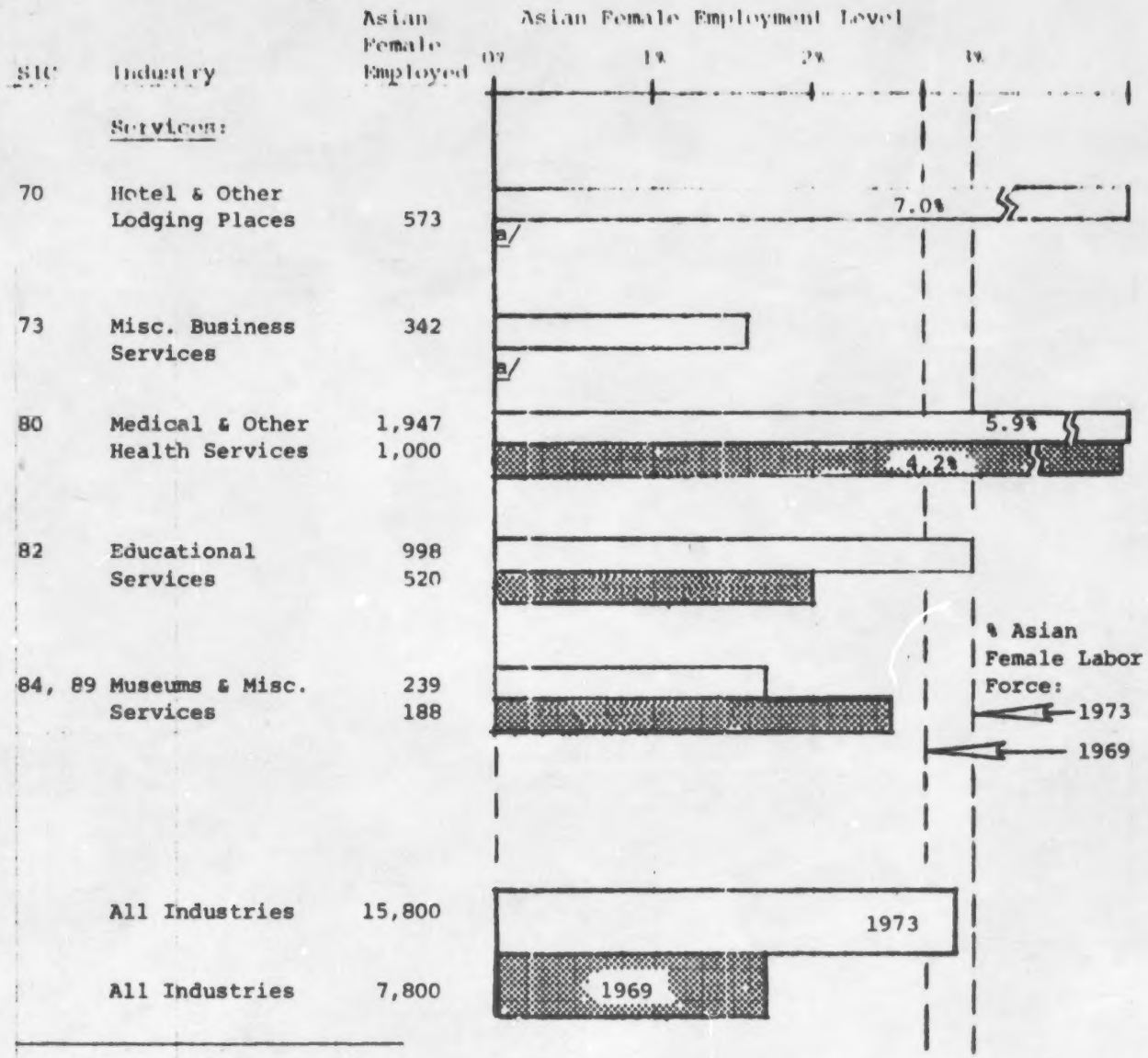

SIC	Industry	Asian Female Employed
	Services:	
70	Hotel & Other Lodging Places	573
73	Misc. Business Services	342
80	Medical & Other Health Services	1,947 1,000
82	Educational Services	998 520
84, 89	Museums & Misc. Services	239 188
	All Industries	15,800
	All Industries	7,800

a/ No data in 1969.

Sources: EEOC, Equal Employment Opportunity Report-1973, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975; see also 1969 report.

Figure 9. Cont'd.

compared with 50% of 146,100 white women and 28% of 260,500 white men. Also, more so than the total employment level, Asian women in these industries have an occupational distribution that differs from that of white men and women.

The analysis of the occupational distribution of Asian women in these industries now follows, based on 1973 EEO-1 data. Figures 10 through 16 graphically show the occupational distribution of Asian women and men (the grey bars) and also of white women and men (the white bars) in each of the seven industries. Note from the figures that the occupational distribution of each of the four groups--white women and Asian women on the right, white men and Asian men on the left--can clearly be seen and compared with each other. Each distribution adds up to 100%.

(1) Apparel and Other Textile Products (SIC 23): Figure 10 shows that 70% of Asian women are in only one occupation-operatives (the garment workers); the remainder are craftspersons and clerks. By comparison, white men are mostly managers and salespersons, while white women are mostly clerks and operatives.

(2) Communications (SIC 48): Figure 11 shows that 90% of Asian women are in only one occupation--clerical. Some white women are managers and professionals; white men are mostly crafts workers, professionals and managers--the high status jobs in the telephone communications industry.

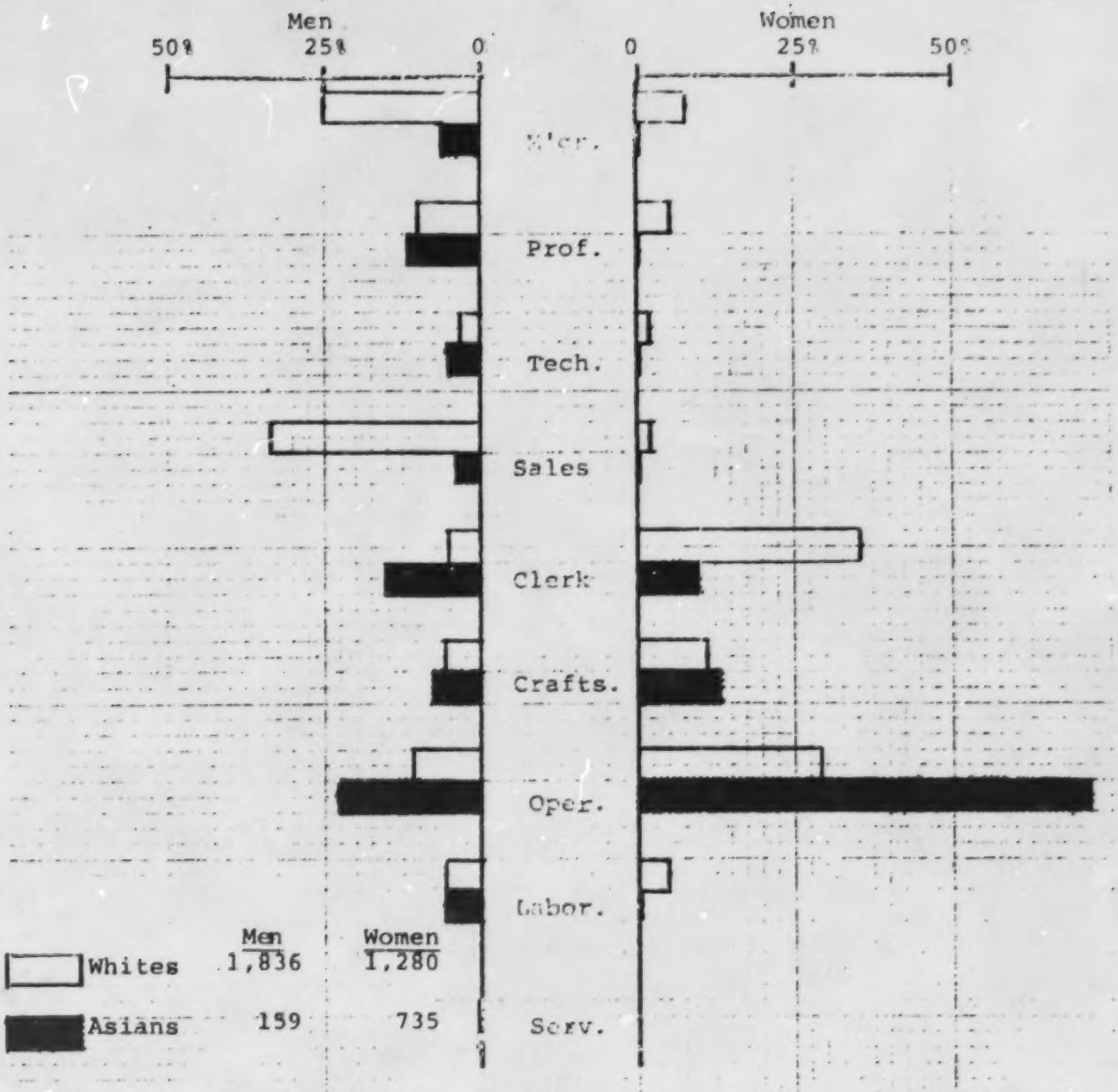

Figure 10 . Occupational distribution of Asians and whites by sex, in Apparel and Other Textile Products (SIC 21) in the SF-O SMSA, based on 1973 EEO-1 data.

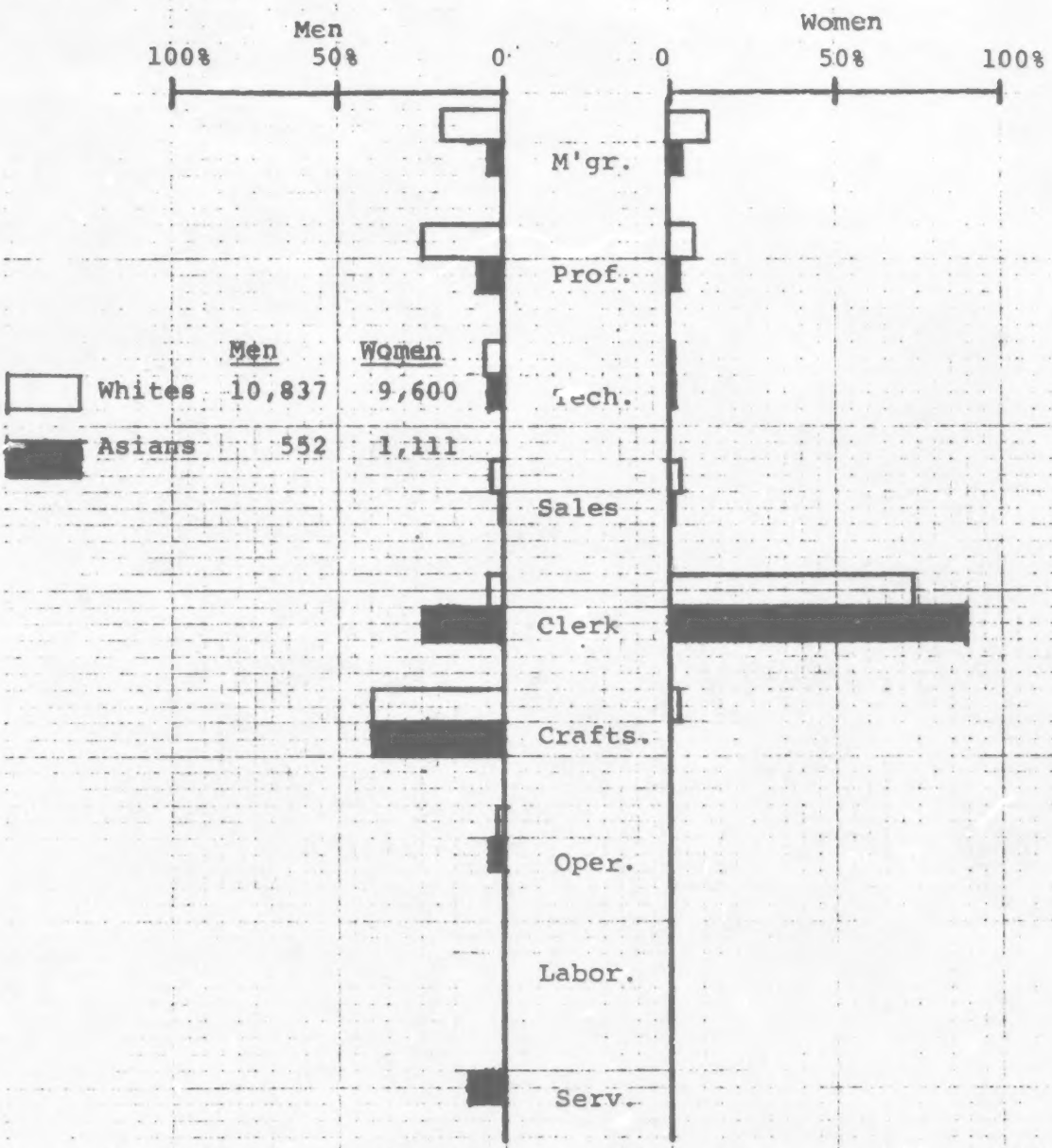

Figure 11. Occupational distribution of Asians and whites, by sex, in Communications (SIC 48) in the SF-O SMSA, based on 1973 EEO-1 data.

(3) General Retail Merchandising (SIC 53): The workforce, as analyzed through EEO-1 data is mostly in department stores. Figure 12 shows that the white men are mostly managers and salesworkers while the white women are mostly salesworkers and clerks. Note that proportionately more white women than Asian women are salesworkers, whereas the reverse is true for the clerical workers. Again, the pattern of fewer Asians in public contact jobs, emerges.

(4) Banking (SIC 60): Figure 13 shows that the industry has only two types of occupations - managers and clerks. 90% of the Asian women are clerks as are 85% of white women. By contrast, 55% of white males are managers as compared with about 3% of Asian women and about 11% of white women.

(5) Insurance (SIC 63, 64): Figure 14 shows that Asian women in the insurance industry are predominantly (85%) in one occupation-clerical. White men and women, on the other hand, are managers, professionals, technicians and salespersons.

(6) Hotels and Other Lodging Places (SIC 70): Figure 15 shows that 85% of Asian females in the hotel industry compared with 60% of white men and women are service workers (waitresses, cleaning workers, etc.). The managers are mostly white men while the clerks are mostly white women.

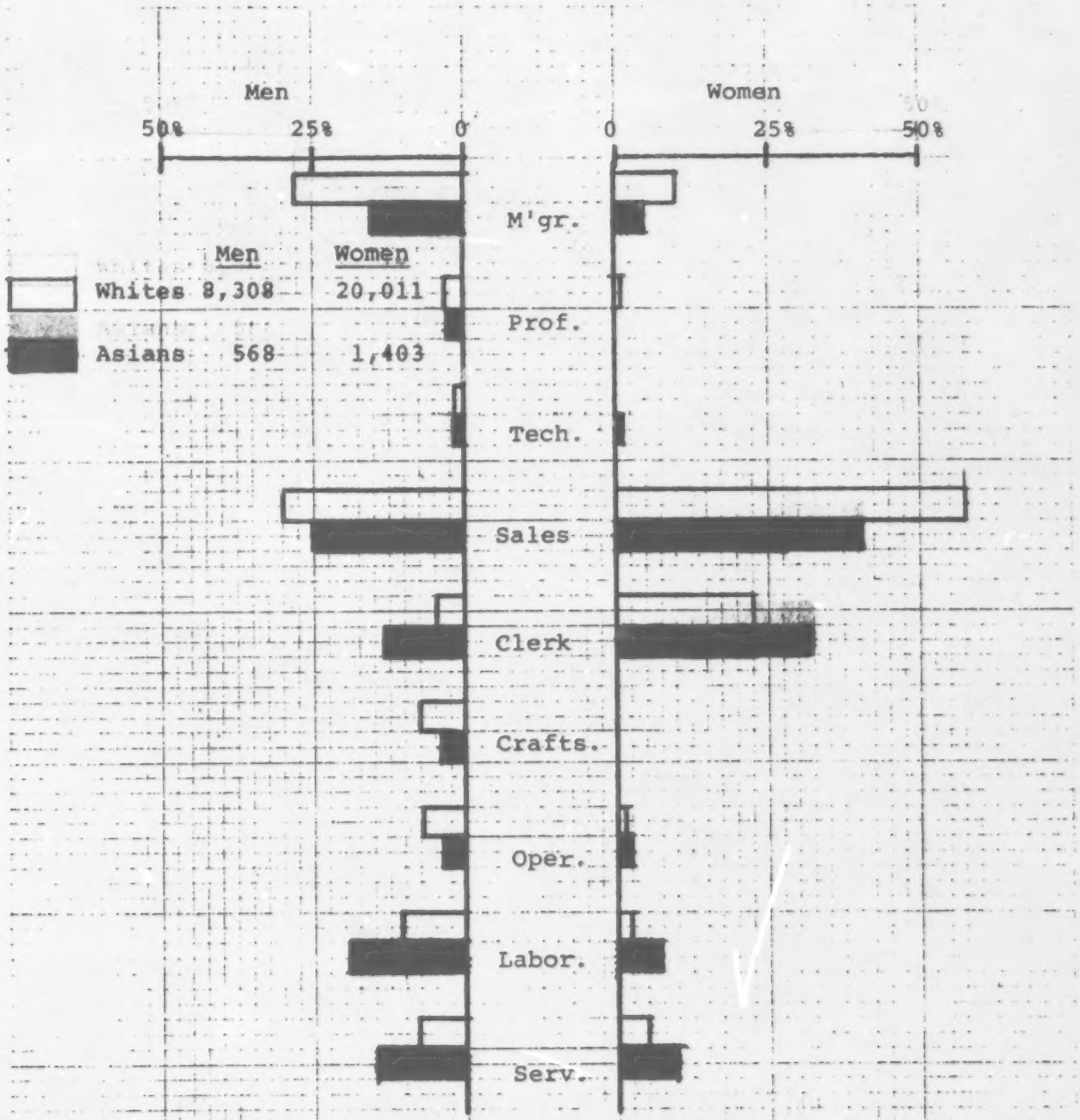

Figure 12. Occupational distribution of Asians and whites, by sex, in General Retail Merchandising (SIC 53) in the SF-O SMSA, based on 1973 EEO-1 data.

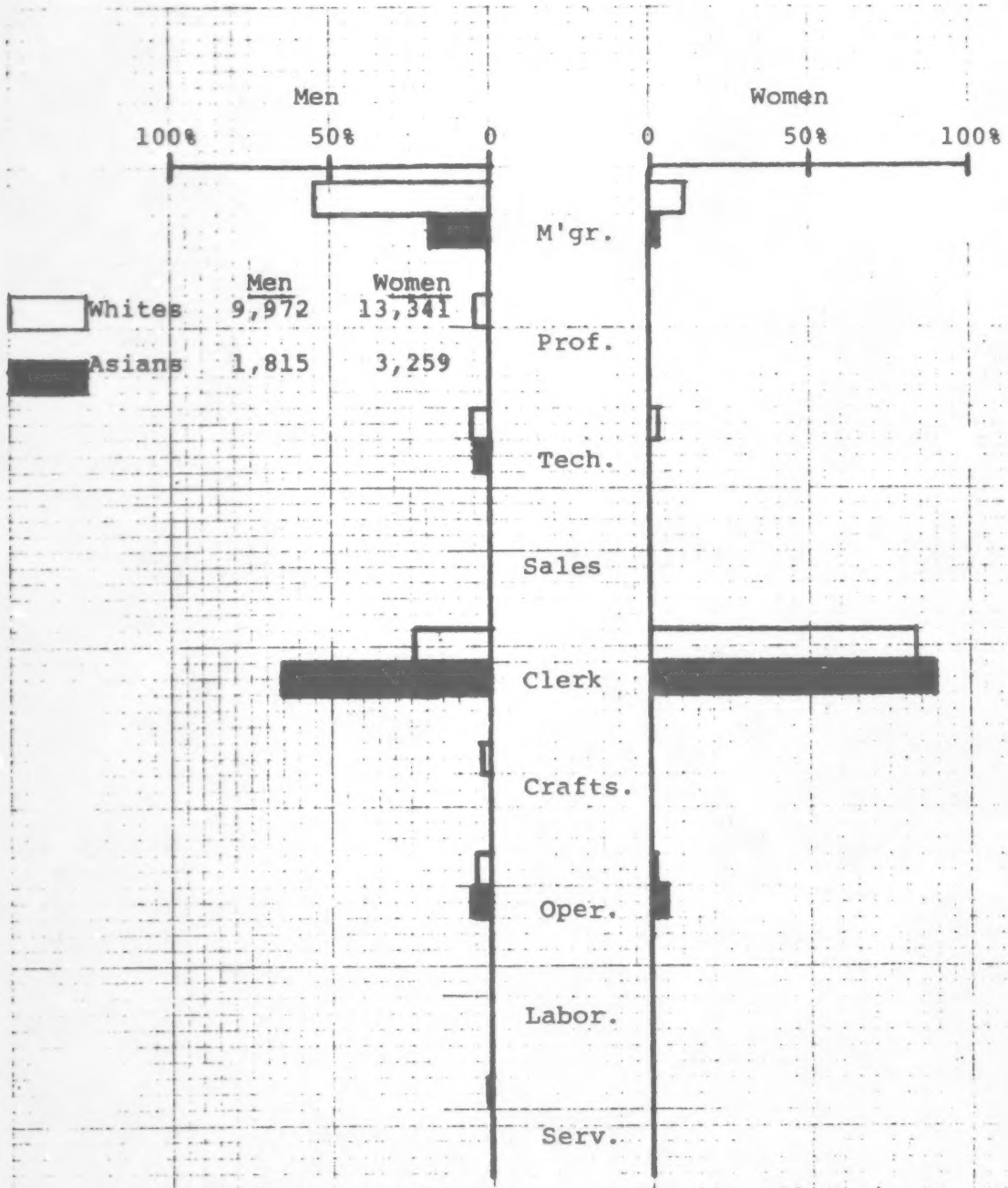

Figure 13 . Occupational distribution of Asians and whites, by sex, in Banking (SIC 60) in the SF-O SMSA, based on 1973 EEO-1 data.

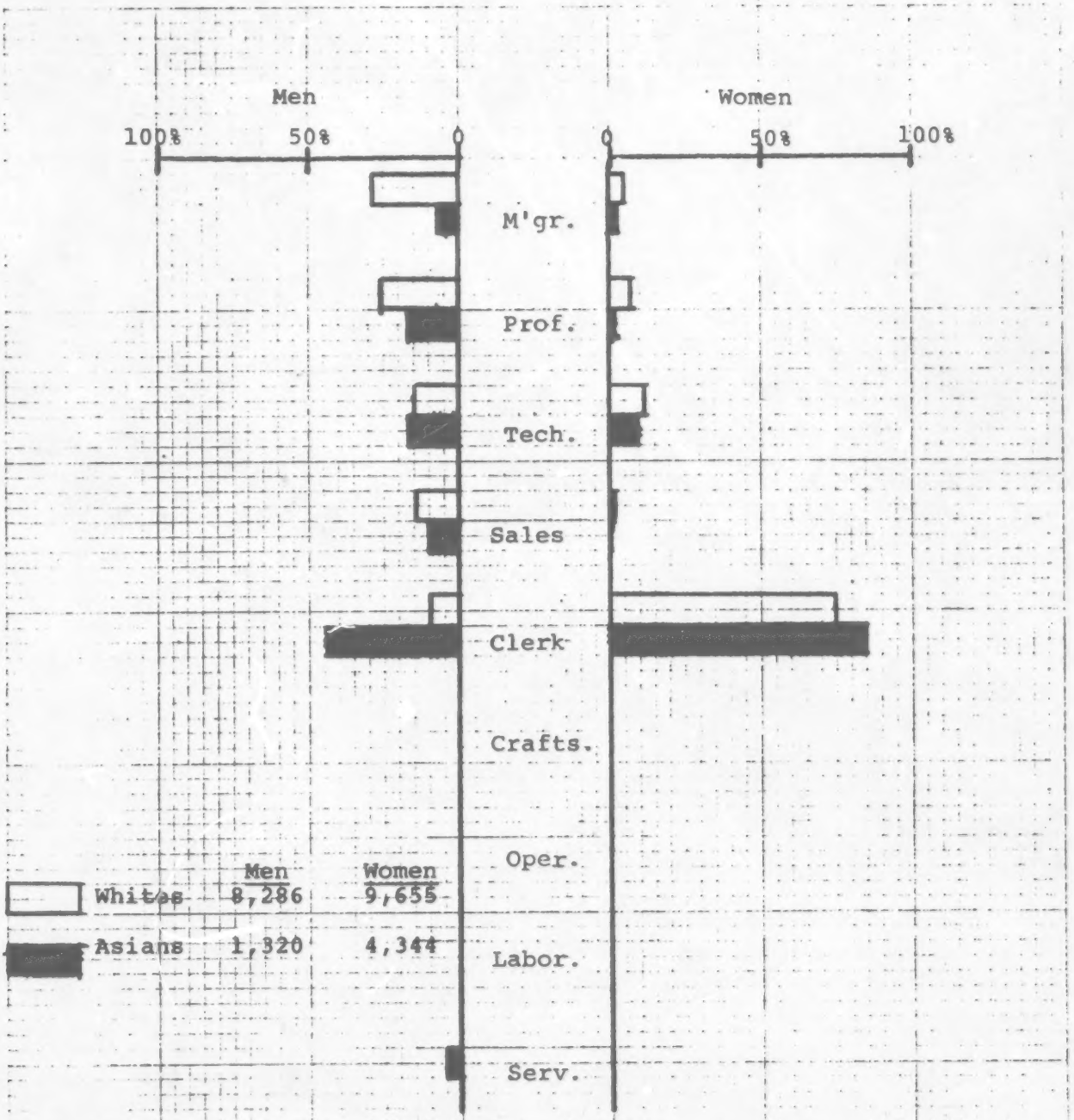

Figure 14 Occupational distribution of Asians and whites, by sex, in Insurance (SIC 63, 64) in the SF-O SMSA, based on 1973 EEO-1 data.

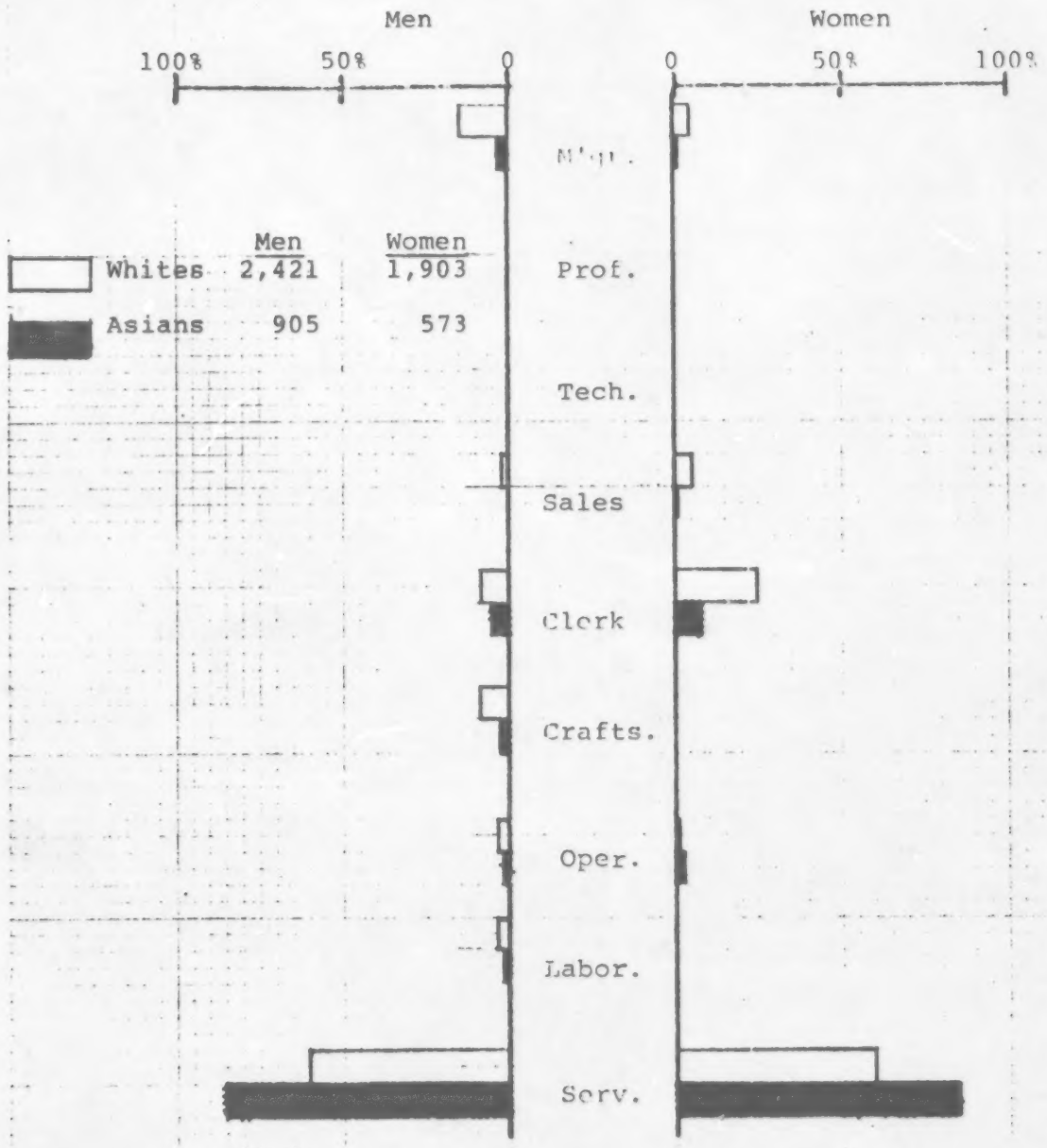

Figure 15. Occupational distribution of Asians and whites, by sex, in Hotels and Other Lodging Places (SIC 70) in the SF-O SMSA, based on 1973 EEO-1 data.

(7) Medical and Other Health Services (SIC 80):

EEO-1 data shows that hospitals account for most of the employment in the industry. Figure 16 shows that Asian women are professionals (mostly nurses rather than physicians) and service workers (food and cleaning service workers) in the medical services industry.

The disparities pointed out are supported by chi-squared tests [6/] comparing the occupational distributions of Asian women with that of white men and women in each of the seven industries.

In conclusion, the above analysis shows that Asian women in the large private industries in the San Francisco-Oakland are clustered into only a few industries. Moreover, within these industries, they are clustered into the clerical, operatives or service worker ranks (depending on the industry). These results, together with the previous occupational distribution analyses, affirm a low occupational status for Asian women.

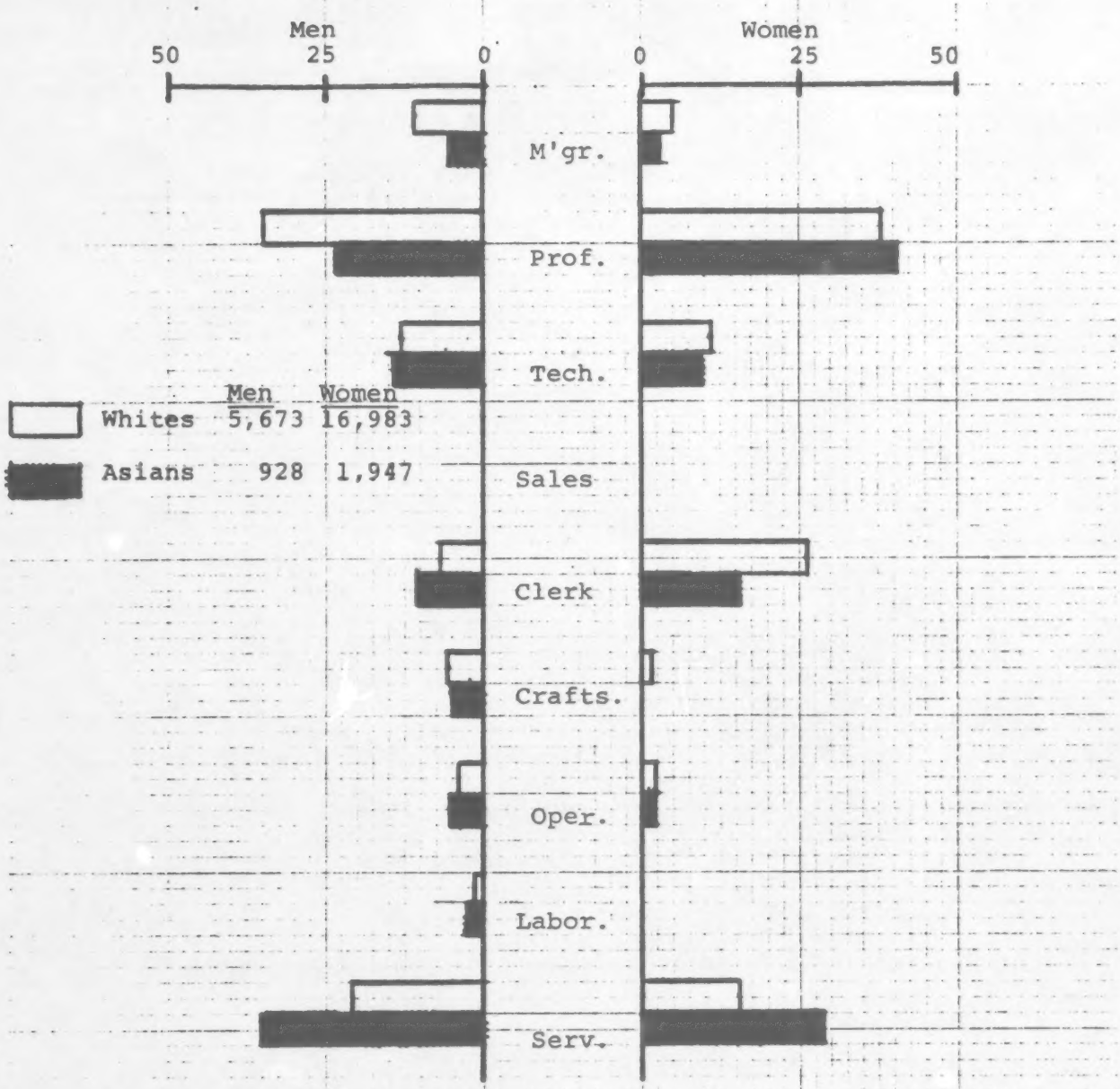

Figure 16. Occupational distribution of Asians and whites, by sex, in Medical and Other Health Services (SIC 80) in the SF-O SMSA, based on 1973 EEO-1 data.

IX. Recommendations

The low economic status of Asian women is directly affected by their low status in the job markets. Other factors also contribute to the overall depressed economic status of Asian women, such as the low earning power of Asian men. The harsh reality, however, is that Asian women work in large numbers, whatever their age, marital status, or level of education. A second harsh reality is the low earning power that Asian women have, both the educated, skilled, and unskilled.

High priority for research should go to analysis and data collection which will enable us to understand the underlying causes of the employment and economic status of Asian women. With some grasp on the causes, we can begin to work on the solutions to our problems. It is also critical that the research should have a public policy and action focus to ensure that research efforts go towards meeting issues which have a high priority in the Asian communities.

Progress towards understanding the underlying causes of the occupation and education needs of Asian women can be more quickly and efficiently made if the research is done by people who are already close to the problems and who also have the technical and scientific skills to analyze them. We strongly recommend that the research be done by Asian men and women who have already demonstrated their technical competence and prior understanding of the Asian communities.

We have also seen clearly that the problems and needs vary within the Asian-Pacific sub groups and that research and data

respect and address the differences among the groups. Although most of the data presented here has related only to three groups, Filipino, Japanese, and Chinese women, this does not mean the needs of the other groups are any less important. What it does reflect is the handicap which the census collection of primary data imposes on research when data is not collected for all relevant population groups. Therefore, in addition and in summary of the many recommendations for further research already made in the text of this paper, the following recommendations are offered. (1) The Women's Research Program should work with The Bureau of the Census to obtain a comprehensive data base for the employment status of Asian women from the upcoming 1980 Census. The data base should be developed for each specific Asian ethnicity: Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Hawaiian, Vietnamese, Thai, etc. To meet "control group" requirements in studies anticipated, data for Asian men, white men and white women, also should be obtained. The data base should be stratified by geographic area, containing high sample rates in SMSA's where Asians are concentrated: Honolulu, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York and Chicago. To assure ease of acquisition, the data should be made available in computer tapes of the individual records, with names blocked out to protect confidentiality. This will assure good access to the data by Asian and other researchers alike.

(2) The above recommendation for the preparation and use of 1980 Census data also is made for 1970 Census data. Much can still be learned from the 1970 Census if the data are made available in larger samples of the individual file records. Again, this primarily entails the Bureau of the Census preparing larger samples than the 1% samples presently available, and with samples prepared for the areas where Asians are concentrated.

(3) The following research problems should be addressed:

- Develop an occupational stratification theory for Asian women in order to uncover the factors that lead to their low occupational status and low earnings. Key variables to consider would include education, socio-economic background, first job status, marital status, fertility, immigration, sex discrimination and race discrimination. Measures of the latter two factors need to be developed.

- Analyze the low returns to occupation and earnings of education for Asian women. Earnings disparities today appear to be most severe for those with a college education. Also, wide-spread under-utilization of Asian women in jobs where they are presently concentrated, should be studied.

- The preliminary analysis of Asian women in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA and California shows that Asian women work in a segmented labor market;

they tend to be concentrated in only part of private industry (garment manufacturing, banking, insurance, hotels, telephone communications and hotels). Moreover, within these industries, they are clustered into low-status, low paying jobs (clerical, operative and food/cleaning service worker). Investigate ways to broaden their career options. Uncover patterns of race and sex discrimination that victimize large classes of Asian women.

(2) Young Asian women appear to be starting out careers in poor jobs inspite of a high educational attainment. Since early career has been found to have a strong influence on eventual occupational status, investigate the reasons for this poor start. The effort can include early career counseling in college, the analysis of a wider range of career options rather than those leading to stereotype jobs, and perhaps even preparation for choosing and applying for the first job.

(3) Asian women also appear to have poor job mobility. Thus, once employed in low-status dead-ended jobs, they tend to be confined there. The largest rank of Asian women workers are clerks in banks, insurance companies and government agencies. Investigate ways to upgrade the careers of these women.

(4) Asian women are absent from the managerial ranks and other leadership positions. Investigate means for channelling Asian women into key leadership positions in education, government, business, health and other areas. This can entail a needs assessment program followed by education and training.

(5) Asian women, besides researchers, scholars and other members of the Asian community should continue to participate in the Women's Research Program. Asians should be given the opportunity to provide their inputs on the needs and concerns of their own communities. Also, it is important that they themselves conduct the various need assessment programs, research studies, training and other development programs that may be initiated to meet their needs. Otherwise, Asian Americans will continue to be misrepresented as to their true demographic, socio-economic and employment status in the U.S.

(6) An immediate need is to assess the current attitudes of young Asian women who are still in school as well as those who are already working to determine their knowledgeability about their employment prospects. If we find that they are not well informed about their employment futures, we should begin immediately to provide job, career and educational counseling.

(7) We need to explore immediately, also, the attitudes that Asian women have towards work and family formation and dissolution, so that they can be assisted in coping with the dual burdens of home and job.

(8) We need to know how Asian women respond to discrimination, in their educational programs and at work. We need to know how Asian women respond to sex and race discrimination and their individual and collective capabilities for dealing with discrimination.

(9) We need to know much more about what affects and determines first job experience, how women get their jobs, what their search process is, what the pressures are to work, what their staying power is to withhold themselves from low level jobs to improve their entry level position, what use they make of community resources, how their aspirations are formed.

Many of these recommendations deal with attitudes on which very little data has been collected. This information is most critical if we are to have policy, social change, and program oriented research which will subsequently enable us to correct and solve the problems facing Asian women.

(10) Asian women are by definition a minority group. It is therefore critical that regulations governing requests for proposals for research and demonstration projects do not automatically exclude minorities by calling for "maximum impact." The problems of minority women must be addressed

as such and not subsumed under minority or women where their problems are lost, ignored, or not dealt with properly.

(11) We recommend that the National Institute of Education which has already taken a leadership role in addressing the issues facing minority women continue this leadership role and especially its sensitivity to the diversity of problems among the various ethnic groups.

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